

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-25688)

DATE: 9/28/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342) (-C-)

SUBJECT:

FRANK J. DONNER
SM-C
(OO:NY)

ReNYlet 7/30/64.

Surveys conducted at the office of the subject indicate that any additional attempts in this area would be impractical.

Pretext telephone calls to the subject's secretary have not elicited any further information than that set forth in referenced letter. However, it has been determined that the subject also maintains an office at the National Office of the UERMWA, 11 East 51st St., NYC. An FD-122 will be submitted reflecting the above.

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NYairtel 3/11/64 sets forth information from [redacted] indicating subject was working on a book on the Ultra-right as well as an essay on surveillance and informing for publication sometime soon. It would seem subject is encountering difficulties in obtaining publication of the essay on surveillance and informing.

NY informants have been alerted concerning subject's book and essay and the Bureau will be promptly advised on receipt of any information by the NYO.

This case is being placed in a closed status in the NYO at this time.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

JJP:poc
(3)

EX-103

REC 37/100-25688-144
14 SEP 29 1964

SUBV CONTROL



OCT 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/18/65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/30/65 - 6/9/65
TITLE OF CASE FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	TYPED BY poc
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	

REFERENCE

New York report 6/18/64.

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that Division.

The pretext on 6/9/65 was a telephone call by SA to the subject's office under the guise of a publishing company compiling a listing of prominent attorneys in New York.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

- COPIES MADE:
- 5 - Bureau (100-25688) (RM)
 - 1 - New Haven (100-14085) (INFO) (RM)
 - 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
 - 3 - New York (100-11342)

COPIES FORWARDED

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-25688-145	REC- 56
JUN 21 1965	

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

NOTATIONS

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY T-2

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize the MLF.

NY T-3

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY T-4

[REDACTED]

NY 100-152221-33

NY T-5

[REDACTED]

DE 100-2760-1B3

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NY T-6

✓ NYO Confidential
Mail Box

NY 100-11342-530

NY T-7

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY T-8

[REDACTED]

NY 100-11342-532

NY T-9

[REDACTED]

CG 100-40401-1A27

NY T-10

[REDACTED]

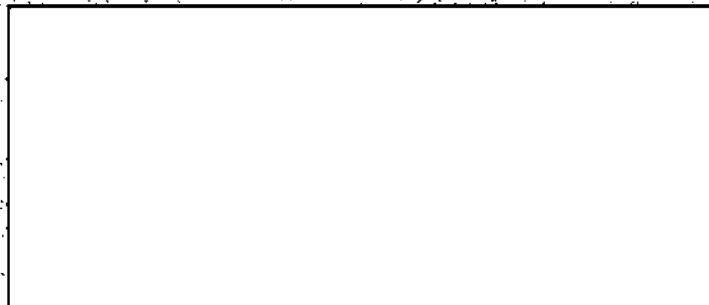
[REDACTED]

COVER PAGE

- B -

NY 100-11342

The following NY informants, as mentioned in the details, were contacted, with negative results:



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COVER PAGE

- C -

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____ . *Declassified 9-16-77*
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because (state reason) it indicates the FBI has coverage of the activities of various front groups in the NYC area (NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-4, NY T-7, NY T-8 and NY T-9). If this fact were made known it could be injurious to the national defense.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____ .
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of his employment as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of subject's long history of legal activities on behalf of the CP and CP front organizations which are believed to depict him as an individual who would be against the interests of the U.S. in the event of an emergency. Subject stated on 1/22/65 that he had been a CP leader for 30 years (Instant report).
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

COVER PAGE

- D* -



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to Bufile 100-25688
File No. NYfile 100-11342

Chief
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Re: Frank Joris Donner

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☒ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (2)
(RM)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, New York City (RM)

Report of:
Date:

6/18/65

Office: New York, New York

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b7c

Field Office File #: 100-11342 ✓

Bureau File #: 100-25688 ✓

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNER ✓

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF DECLASSIFICATION
DATE 9-26-77 6445/105C

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut and maintains a law office at 36 W. 44th St., NYC. ✓ Subject is also an attorney for and maintains an office at the UERMWA, 11 E. 51st St., NYC. ✓ Subject reportedly stated on 1/22/65 that he had been a CP leader for 30 years. ✓ Subject: payee of checks drawn on account of Friends of the First Amendment, April and May, 1964; ✓ spoke at luncheon of NYC Chapter of NLG, 10/17/64; ✓ attended a fund raising party of the NYCAHUAC, 12/5/64; spoke at CANA conference, 12/6/64; member of National Executive Committee of NCRMA, January, 1965; spoke at ECLC student conference 3/27/65. ✓

- C -

DETAILSI. BACKGROUNDResidence and Employment

By means of a suitable pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 9, 1965, it was determined that the subject maintains a law office at 36 West 44th Street, New York City and resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut. It was further determined that the subject is an attorney for and maintains an

Declassified by
2333 bag:cg
9-16-77

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-11342

office at the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), 11 East 51st Street, New York City.

A characterization of the UERMWA is contained in the Appendix hereto.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MOVEMENT

Evidence of CP Membership

On January 23, 1965, NY T-1 advised that the Militant Labor Forum held a meeting on January 22, 1965 at 116 University Place, New York City. According to NY T-1, FRANK DONNER spoke on "Anti-Semitism: The Ideology of the Ultra Right". NY T-1 said that subsequent to the talk a young man in the audience questioned Mr. DONNER as to whether he was a Communist. NY T-1 said that DONNER stated "Well, I have been attending Communistic meetings for thirty years".

NY T-2 advised on April 8, 1964, that the Militant Labor Forum is the name given to the weekly public forums sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City, except during the summer months.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 8, 1965, NY T-3 advised that the subject spoke at a forum sponsored by the SWP held on January 22, 1965 at 116 University Place, New York City. According to NY T-3 the subject was asked if he is a Communist by a man in the audience. NY T-3 said that DONNER replied that he had been a Communist Party leader for 30 years but did not consider this to be any business of his questioner.

Evidence of CP Front Group Activity

On June 9, 1964, NY T-4 made available information which reflected that the subject [redacted]

[redacted]

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A characterization of the Friends of the 1st Amendment is contained in the Appendix hereto.

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The person to be subpoenaed is [REDACTED]

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On September 17, 1964, NY T-5 made available information which reflected that the subject was receiving literature from the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) at that time.

A characterization of the NLG is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On November 23, 1964, NY T-6 made available a newsletter published by the NLG at New York City. The letter set out that on October 17, 1964 a luncheon and conference was held by the New York City Chapter of the NLG at which luncheon FRANK DONNER of the New York City Chapter spoke on the origin and purpose of the criminal anarchy statute.

On December 10, 1964, NY T-7 advised that a fund raising party for the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) was held on December 5, 1964 at 150 Riverside Drive, New York City. NY T-7 said the subject, among others, was in attendance at this party and spoke about a case he was handling at that time involving the HUAC.

A characterization of the NYCAHUAC is contained in the Appendix hereto.

NY T-8 advised on October 21, 1964 that the Committee Against Nazism and Anti-Semitism (CANAS) scheduled a conference for December 6, 1964 at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, New York City, for the purpose of opposing the decision of West Germany not to bring to trial Nazi war criminals after May 8, 1965.

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A characterization of CANA is contained in the Appendix hereto.

The "Morning Freiheit" of December 8, 1964, contained an article on page 1, columns 4 and 5 concerning the above noted December 6, 1964 conference. The article stated that FRANK J. DONNER, Attorney, among others, spoke at this conference.

A characterization of the "Morning Freiheit" is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On January 20, 1965, NY T-9 made available a letter on the letterhead stationery of the National Committee to Repeal the Mc Carran Act (NCRMA). The letterhead contained the names of the members of the National Executive Committee and among those set out was FRANK DONNER, Esquire.

A characterization of the NCRMA is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On March 29, 1965, NY T-10 advised that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City, sponsored a student conference on March 27, 1965 at the Christian Association auditorium on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

According to NY T-10, FRANK DONNER spoke on "Intimidation on the Campus" concerning "informers" and the FBI. DONNER said the FBI uses informers not to obtain information or as future witnesses, but only to intimidate political groups.

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the Appendix hereto.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain New York informants who are acquainted with various phases of CP activity in the New York area advised in May, 1965 that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

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APPENDIX

COMMITTEE AGAINST NAZISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

A source advised on January 25, 1960, that a meeting was sponsored by "The Worker," an east coast Communist newspaper, on January 24, 1960, at the Park Plaza, New York City. EVELYN WIENER, described by the source as the chairman of the New York County Communist Party (CP), invited the audience to attend a protest meeting to be held in Union Square, New York City, on January 26, 1960, to protest anti-Semitism in West Germany.

A second source on January 26, 1960, advised that the CP had prepared 6,000 leaflets in connection with anti-Semitism to be distributed at a rally to be held that day at Union Square, New York City. These leaflets, according to the source, were not distributed since the CP was not openly represented at the meeting. However, according to the source, known Communists participated openly in the meeting.

On September 13, 1961, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation by means of a suitable pretext, spoke to SAM PEVZNER, who stated that he is the public relations officer of the Committee Against Nazism and Anti-Semitism. He stated that the organization initially known as the Committee To Stop The Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism, originated as an "ad hoc" committee to sponsor a rally on January 26, 1960, in New York City, to protest the rise of Nazism and anti-Semitism. It is now a continuing organization springing into action when the need arises.

On October 29, 1964, a third source stated that captioned organization is located in Room 1429, 1133 Broadway, New York City.

This third source on May 14, 1964, advised that SAM PEVZNER was a member of the CP, USA, at that time.

1.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

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APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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APPENDIX

FRIENDS OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT

A source advised on December 23, 1963 that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) during an Enlarged National Executive Committee meeting of the CP, USA held in New York, New York, in December, 1963, gave a report on the topic "Defense of the Party". At that time FLYNN stated that recently a new first amendment committee had been organized by CARL MARZANI in New York.

A second source advised on January 16, 1964 that in early January, 1964, WILLIAM PRICE stated that the Friends of The First Amendment had been organized to raise money for JOHN GOJACK and himself in connection with their trials for contempt of Congress and was strictly a "one shot" organization.

JOHN T. GOJACK on October 28, 1963, was convicted of contempt of Congress for having refused to answer questions about Communism on February 28 and March 1, 1955, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was sentenced on December 13, 1963 to three months imprisonment.

WILLIAM A. PRICE on December 11, 1963, was convicted of contempt of Congress for having refused to answer questions put by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee on January 5, 1956, concerning an inquiry into Communist infiltration of the press. He was sentenced on December 11, 1963 to ten days probation.

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APPENDIX

FRIENDS OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT (CONT'D)

Both of the above trials were held in US. District Court, Washington, D.C.

The second source advised on March 18, 1964 that the Friends of The First Amendment is located on the fifth floor, 100 West 23rd Street, New York, New York, occupying the same space as the Liberty Book Club.

On May 22, 1947, after a trial in the US. District Court, Washington, D.C., CARL MARZANI was found guilty of 11 counts of an indictment charging him with having made false statements to representatives of the United States Government concerning the fact he had not been in the Communist Party. The judgment was upheld and on March 25, 1949 he was committed to serve the remainder of his one to five years in the Federal Penitentiary.

A third source advised on June 16, 1955 that WILLIAM PRICE's CP activity in the past was confined to attendance at one recruiting meeting of the CP, however, PRICE did not join the CP at this meeting.

A fourth source advised that on December 3, 1948 JOHN T. GOJACK admitted that he was a member of the CP.

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Morning Freiheit":

"Morning Freiheit

- "1. The Communist International 'subsidized * * * the founding of the CPUSA's newspaper, Freiheit.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 51-101, Modified Report with respect to the Communist Party of the United States of America, December 18, 1956, p. 159.)
- "2. A 'Communist Yiddish daily.'
(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)
- "3. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL
THE MC CARRAN ACT (1963)

The National Committee to Repeal the Mc Carran Act (NCRMA) maintains headquarters in Room 318, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in May, 1963, that the NCRMA is the outgrowth of an Ad Hoc Committee of Initiators, headed by Professor CLYDE MILLER of New York, who solicited signatures to a Petition to the President of the United States in 1962 which called for the repeal of the Mc Carran Act. The NCRMA held its formation meeting at Chicago on May 18, 1963; the stated purpose of the Committee is to seek repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as amended. As of July, 1963, its purpose is the same.

Source advised that the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR), and its Executive Secretary RICHARD CRILEY, gave full support to organizing this new organization. At the May 18, 1963, formation meeting Reverend WILLIAM T. BAIRD, Executive Director of the CCDBR, was named National Administrator of the NCRMA.

A second source advised in April and May, 1963, that the Communist Party, USA (CP) interest in NCRMA has been to give it full support and approval and it takes the position that the Committee composition must be extremely broad and the Party's direct influence must be kept to a minimum. The CP believes the new Committee will serve its purpose in fighting the Mc Carran Act alone and the CP has everything to gain by taking this position. The CP reportedly has agreed to make funds available to this Committee.

A third source advised as of May, 1963, that RICHARD CRILEY was then a member of the CP.

CLYDE MILLER, according to the "Daily Worker", issue of March 5, 1941, was a signer of a statement to the President defending the CP.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast communist daily newspaper which ceased publication January 13, 1958.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL
THE MC CARRAN ACT (1963)

LOLA BELLE HOLMES, a CP member from August, 1957 to January, 1963, advised in August, 1958, that Reverend BAIRD stated that he was a "religious communist" and that he believed there was a relationship between science, religion and communism and was attempting to prove his theory.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party. its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

1.

APPENDIX

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

ROBERT RONSTADT, 20515 Tiara Street, Woodland Hills, California, a former member of the Communist Party (CP) in Los Angeles, California, from 1946 to 1952 who furnished information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1949 to 1952 advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a member of the Los Angeles County, CP as of September, 1952.

A second source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA" (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and co-ordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

A third, fourth, and fifth source have advised during March, 1962, that CP members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

On May 7, 1964, a sixth source advised that the NYCAHUAC continues to function from its office at 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York.

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APPENDIX

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication Number 212, Sixth Edition, 1952, discloses on pages 32-34, "UE - the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time, the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information. In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "Communist leadership... strongly entrenched." The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the Unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its Communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America."

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 20, 1964, edition of UE News," official organ of UE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
June 18, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 100-25688 ✓
NYfile 100-11342 ✓

Title Frank Joris Donner ✓

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of
Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above,
at New York. ✓

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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ENCLOSURE (1)

TO SECRET SERVICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Bufile 100-25688
NYfile 100-11342

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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ



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FRANK DONNER

PHOTO FEB 1961

NY 100 - 11342



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
September 30, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NYfile 100-11342
Bufile 100-25688

SUBJECT:

FRANK JORIS DONNER

REFERENCE:

Memorandum dated 12/7/63.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence:

Employment: Add: Attorney, United Electrical Radio and
Machine Workers of America, 11 East 51st Street,
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

FD-122 DETACHED

61 OCT 7 1964

Copy to Secret Service
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 10-9-64
by ERS/can

100-25688-
NOT RECORDED
31 OCT 2 1964

SUBV CONTROL
[Signature]

LOCALITIES

	PAGE
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↓Calif.	12
↓NH	13

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-25688-146

FRANK JORIS DONNER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

100-25688-146

~~SECRET~~

SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY
(See Correlation Summary dated 1/31/62 filed as 100-25688-124)

Main File No: 100-25688

Date: 6-29-65

Subject: Frank Joris^o Donner

Date Searched: 2/19/65

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

12/ Frank Joris Donner ✓
Frank^o Donald ✓
Frank^o Doner ✓
Frank^o Donner ✓
Frank^o Donna ✓
One^o Donner ✓
F. Donner ✓
F. J. Donner ✓
F. K. Donner ✓
Frank^o Donner ✓
Frank^o Donner ✓
Frank B. Donner ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

B: 2-27-11;

2-25-11;

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

12/ Frank C. Donner ✓
Frank D. Donner ✓
Frank H. Donner ✓
Frank J. Donner ✓
Frank Joris^o Donner ✓
Frank Jarvis^o Donner ✓
Frank Jarvis^o Donner ✓
Frank K. Donner ✓
Frank V. Donner ✓
Frank Voris^o Donner ✓
Franklin^o Donner ✓
Frank^o Donor ✓

Summary

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.

This summary is designed to furnish a synopsis of the information set out in each reference. In many cases the original serial will contain the information in much more detail.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved *vh*

CKY/rmg

Classified by 2333
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ENCLOSURE
Enclosure
S. Slips

58 JUL 5 1965

REC duf

100-25688-146

JUN 29 1965

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CONFIDENTIAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing
in this reference which pertains
to Frank Joris Donner may be
found in the main file or else-
where in this summary.

NCAHUAC.....National Committee to Abolish
the House Un-American Activities
Committee

~~SECRET~~

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In connection with an investigation of [redacted] Trial Examiner, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D. C. (140-3771), the files of the HCUA revealed that [redacted] was mentioned in the testimony of Frank Donner before HCUA, 84th Congress 6/28/56.

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Add. info.

140-3771-16 p.21-23
(16,21)

On 10/21/59 the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, Cincinnati, Ohio, heard oral arguments in the case captioned "US vs. James West et al" Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 (Security Matter), Conspiracy, file number 122-2048. The appellants were represented by Victor Rabinowitz, Jack G. Day and Frank Donner.

122-2048-407 p.5
(16)

[redacted] Chemical Bank New York Trust Co., 113 St., and Broadway, NYC, (protect identity) advised that a check dated 12/8/60 in the amount of \$250.00 was drawn on the bank account of the Bill of Rights Fund (100-415194) payable to Frank J. Donner.

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Add. info.

100-415194-70 p.12,18
(20)

The following references pertain to the book "The Un-Americans," published by Ballantine Books, Inc., NYC, and written by Frank J. Donner. This book, copyrighted in 1961, was very critical of the HUAC.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
66-1731-1995	(18)
100-433447-A, "NY Mirror," 7/17/61	(13)
100-387548-378 p.10 -392 p.9,20*	(12) (12,20)

(continued)

* Add. info.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-10355-1080 p.65

(100)

100-35102-176 p.11,12

(11)

On 2/16/61 NY-2675-S* advised that Louis Weinstock, Apt 7F, Metropolitan Oval, NYC, had in his possession documents relating to a proposed creation of a travel agency in NYC. Among the papers were four documents pertaining to the proposed organization of an American corporation with American personnel, to act as agents in the travel agency business for IBUSZ (Hungarian Travel Agency). It was stated that the proposed agency would be operated under the leadership of Boris Jaffe, Vice President of the Dee Travel Agency, Inc., 342 Madison Ave., NYC. Associated with Jaffe was Frank J. Donner, an American attorney, who was a legal representative of American travel agencies and had professional interests in travel to socialist countries and intercultural exchange with those countries. ~~C~~ (U)

On 4/7/61, Boris A. Jaffe advised that the idea to form a new travel agency had been dropped in that he did not have the funds or the facilities to extend the business. Jaffe said he informed Donner in January 1961, that the idea had been dropped and that he had not seen Donner since that time.

CG 5824-S* advised that Weinstock was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA, on 12/10-13/59. ~~S~~ (U)

Add. info.

105-88785-4 p.4,5

(16,21)

SI 65-60480-15 p.2-4

(10)

Joseph Benik, Deputy Clerk, US Clerk of Courts, Cleveland, Ohio, advised that on 4/26/61, Frank Donner, attorney for Eric Reinthaler (100-357762), 12712 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio, had filed a motion for reduction of sentence on behalf of Reinthaler who was convicted for violation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

100-357762-69 p.2

(12)

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Volume II, No. 1, 1961 issue of Studies On The Left (100-432547) published in Madison, Wisc. on 6/2/61 contained an article captioned "HUAC; The Dossier - Keepers" by Frank Donner. This article attacked the HUAC and criticized what it considered a close relationship between the HUAC and the FBI.

The Milwaukee Office requested the New York Office furnish a thumbnail characterization on Frank Donner.

Volume filed in Publications
100-432547-40
(13)
SI 100-432547-45 p.9
(13)

By letter dated 8/4/61 the New York Office advised that their indices were checked with negative results for information identifiable with Frank Donner.

100-432547-42
(13)

On 8/21/61 [] furnished a copy of a "Petition to the President of the United States" which listed Frank J. Donner, Esq. NYC, Attorney at Law as one of the Initiators. This petition concerned two decisions handed down by the Supreme Court on 6/5/61. The first of these upheld the Internal Security Act of 1950; the second upheld the membership provisions of the Smith Act. The initiators recommended that the President ask Congress to repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950 and also recommended that the petition of the Department of Justice before the Subversive Activities Control Board be withdrawn and its registration order dismissed.

Petition enclosed
100-436774-6 encl. 2; p.4
(21)
SI 100-437931-6 encl. p.4
(14) (SF-2563-S)

b7D

On 9/12/61, [] furnished information concerning the highlights and events which transpired during the course of a Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms (CCPAF) (100-387548) Executive Board meeting which was held on 9/11/61 at 1557 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. It was announced that Harvey O'Connor would be in Los Angeles from 12/10-13/61. Accordingly a public meeting sponsored by the CCPAF featuring O'Connor and celebrating the 10th anniversary of the committee was planned. It was recommended

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efforts be made to secure Frank Donner, author of the book "The Un-Americans."

100-387548-377
(12)

Bureau memo dated 10/2/61 revealed that on 10/1/61, WTTG-TV, Channel 5, presented a panel discussion entitled "open End" moderated by David Susskind (105-92048). The subject of the discussion was "What's Un-American...Who's Un-American?" Members of the panel included Frank Donner, attorney for the United Electrical Workers Union. The discussion generally consisted of an attack by Donner, John Henry Faulk, former radio performer, and Arthur Cohen, Vice President of Meridian Books, on the HCUA.

It was noted that Donner was observed to be cunning and an unabashed apologist for the CP line.

105-92048-9
(16)
SI 105-92048-7
(21) (Add. info.)
SI 62-105261-11
(10) (WF 1047-S)

The "National Guardian" (100-357044) dated 11/20/61 carried an article captioned "Report to Readers: The Man Who Never Came to Dinner." This article stated that Frank Donner, labor and civil liberties attorney and author of "The Un-Americans," was one of the guests of honor at the "National Guardian's" 13th anniversary banquet held at the Hotel Roosevelt, NYC on 11/10/61.

100-357044-A "National Guardian"
(12) 11/20/61

The "National Guardian" dated 11/13/61 carried an article captioned "Chapel Hill conferees map civil liberties fight" by Joanne Grant. This article stated more than 250 students, educators, lawyers and clergymen held day-long discussions of civil liberties and civil rights on October 27 in Chapel Hill, N.C. Frank Donner, traced the history of HUAC and declared: "The problems which the committee poses are not merely legal. They are political problems which, as citizens

(continued)

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(continued)

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of a democracy, we must face honestly and fearlessly. They are moral and ethical problems, which as men we cannot afford to evade."

100-10355-A "National Guardian"
(18) 11/13/61
SI 100-10355-982 p.3
(10,18) ("Chapel Hill Weekly",
10/30/61)

b7D

On 2/13/62, [] furnished two copies of a "Petition for Clemency to the President of the United States." These petitions had been obtained from Richard Criley, Secretary, Chicago Committee to Defend The Bill of Rights (100-433419) in Chicago, Ill., and were circulated in behalf of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson. The name of Frank J. Donner of NYC appeared on this petition.

Petition enclosed
100-433419-32 encl. p.16
(20)

CSNY-2551-S made available a mimeographed letter dated 5/10/62 sent by the "Jewish Currents" (100-38759) concerning the results of a Jewish Currents conference held on 4/7/62 at Adelphi Hall, NYC. This conference emphasized a report by Frank J. Donner, widely known lawyer, civil liberties lawyer and author. His incisive, well documented report analyzed the Ultra Right movement and its impact upon American life.

100-38759-101 p.4
(19)

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The 11/26/62 issue of "The News Gazette." Champaign-Urbana Daily newspaper, stated that Dr. Gabriel Lapidus [], (University of Illinois), would like to schedule a debate between Frank J. Donner, author of "The Un-Americans," and Fulton Lewis III, producer of "Operation Abolition." Donner had been a hard critic of the HUAC.

100-427744-30 p.4
(20)

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Records of the US District Court, Washington, D. C., in Criminal Action No. 821-62, United States v John T. Gojack (100-201103) disclosed that on 12/3/62, attorneys Frank J. Donner and David Rein for the defendant, Gojack, set forth the contents of motions to dismiss the indictment; for a hearing on the qualifications of grand jurors; and for a bill of particulars.

[] advised that on 1/11/63 Donner was the main speaker at a meeting of the Womens Strike for Peace Committee in Cleveland, Ohio. Gojack also spoke a few words and signified Donner was his attorney and he would win his First Amendment case.

100-201103-165 p.5,10

(19)

SI to par. 1

100-201103-159

(19)

SI to par. 2

100-225503-67 p.2

(11) [] (Add. info.)

SI to par. 2

100-346683-40 p.7

(12) []

b7D

[] advised that a meeting took place on 4/26/63 in the office of Richard Criley, which was attended by Criley, William Baird, William Price, Frank Wilkinson and the informant. During the meeting the forthcoming HCUA hearings on 5/6/63 were discussed. At the meeting, Price mentioned that Frank Donner had told him that he has been asked to write an article for the "Northwesterner." He intended to bring out in this article the tie between the fight against HCUA and civil rights.

The serial indicated that Wilkinson was Executive Secretary of NCAHUAC (100-433447).

100-433447-366

(13)

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[], Brooklyn, NY (protect identity), made available a throw away of a meeting held 7/7/63 at the Adams Clayton Powell Center, 144 West 138th St., NYC concerning "the truth about outside intrigue in British Guiana." The throw away listed Frank Donner as a speaker.

(continued)

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(continued)

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On 7/9/63 [] advised that a student of British Guiana attended the meeting on 7/7/63 and advised [] that Felix Cummings (64-30428) and Frank Donner were speakers. [] described this individual as a very reliable person.

On 7/8/63 and 7/10/63 [] advised that a meeting on British Guiana was held on 7/7/63 at the aforementioned address and that the leaflet advertising the meeting failed to reveal the sponsoring organization of the meeting.

[] also stated that the leaflet advertising the meeting revealed that Frank Donner was scheduled to speak but he did not speak, although Kumar Goshal read a statement from Donner.

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The serial indicated that Kumar Goshal had been the editor of the "National Guardian."

Administration section noted that details of the above meeting were in discrepancy.

64-30428-83 p.2 encl. p.5-8
(3,10,18)

John Gojack, 1465 West 7th Ave., Columbus, Ohio (100-201103), was the featured speaker at a forum of the Chicago Branch SWP in Chicago, Ill., on 10/4/63. At this meeting he praised the achievement of his attorney Frank J. Donner, noted constitutional lawyer, and produced a copy of Donner's book "The Un-Americans." Copies of this book were sold at the close of the meeting. (Lt. [], Intelligence Division Chicago Police Department-protect identity)

Records of the US District Court, Washington, DC, disclosed that Donner represented Gojack, former vice president of the United Electrical Workers Union, when he was convicted of contempt of Congress on 10/28/63.

100-201103-174 p.3,6
(11,19)

"The Worker" dated 3/8/64 carried an advertisement captioned "A Tribute To Dr. Willard Uphaus." The advertisement stated that a buffet dinner and program would be held 3/15/64 at the Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West, NYC, under the auspices of the Citizens Committee For Constitutional Liberties (CCCL) (100-434917), to honor the first anniversary of Dr. Uphaus' chairmanship in this organization.

(continued)

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(continued)

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Frank Donner, Esq. was listed as a sponsor of this function.

100-434917-A "The Worker"
(14) 3/8/64

The files of the Passport Office, U.S. Department of State disclosed that Mary Jane Keeney (101-467), 351 West 24th St., NYC on 3/12/64 applied for renewal of her passport but did not furnish any specific travel plans. She requested that Frank Donner, 36 West 44th St., NYC be notified in the event of death or accident. Keeney's passport was to be renewed on or about 4/23/64.

101-467-282 encl. p.1
(15)

[redacted] on 4/8/64 furnished information pertaining to Mary Jane Keeney's (101-467) former plans to travel to China. Information disclosed was the result of a visit of Keeney to Marcus I. Goldman in Washington, DC, on 4/8/64. Keeney said that she would not have contemplated going to China at all if Frank Donner, her attorney, had not approved of it, as she had some sort of feeling that this might be a "rather hare-brained scheme," and she "didn't want to rock the boat!" She added that both she and her husband Angus intended to go, but since Angus died, she decided to go alone. She said she also thought about travel to China without the protecting fiction of the Soviet Union and decided to consult Donner again. She disclosed that Donner advised her that she must not think of going to China unless she intended to stay in China the rest of her life. She told Goldman this helped her in arriving at her decision not to go to China. b7D

101-467-280
(15)

The "Militant", dated 4/30/64, carried an article captioned "Public Opposition Urged" by David Herman. The article stated that the Buffalo Committee to Oppose the HUAC hearings in Buffalo, NY, scheduled to open on April 29th had planned a protest meeting on April 27.

The article further stated that meetings in Buffalo had been addressed by well known opponents of HUAC including Frank Donner, author of "The Un-Americans."

61-7582-A "Militant"
(9) 4/30/64

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On 5/4/64 [redacted],
Cartwright Hall, University of Bridgeport, (UB) Bridgeport, Connecticut,
stated that [redacted] (100-441628) was quite active in the Student
League of Human Rights. This organization was a student group at the
UB, and advocated limitation on the powers of the HCUA and invited
such speakers at the UB as Will Ghare and Frank Donner, both of whom
had been accused of being communists.

100-441628-6 p.2
(15)

[redacted] advised on 10/2/64 that the organization known as
the "Friends of the First Amendment" (FFA) (100-441632) was dedicated
solely to raising funds for the legal expenses of John Gojack and
William A. Price in connection with their trials for contempt of Congress.

[redacted], First National City Bank,
6th Ave. and 23rd St., NYC, (protect identity) stated that the FFA
maintained a regular checking account at the First National City
Bank. On 4/30/64 and 5/25/64 checks were drawn on this account in
the amount of \$250.00 and \$821.75 paid to Frank Donner, Esq.

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[redacted] advised that on 12/3/48 John Gojack admitted he
was a CP member.

NY-1537-S* advised on 6/16/55 that Price's CP activity in
the past was confined to attendance at one recruiting meeting of the
CP, however Price did not join the CP at this meeting.

100-441632-7 p.4,5
(15)

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[] furnished the minutes of the National Officers meeting of the NCAHUAC (100-433447) which was held 9/12-13/64 at Chicago, Ill. Under the heading "Reports on HUAC Hearings" the minutes stated that as a result of the hearings in Buffalo, NY in 1957 several persons lost their jobs and were being assisted by the Niagara Frontier Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. The NCAHUAC provided assistance such as speakers at rallies and debates. Among the mentioned speakers was Frank Donner.

100-433447-544 p.5
(13)

The "Morning Freiheit" dated 12/8/64 reported that 215 delegates from 93 organizations representing 18 nationality groups met on 12/6/64 at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, NYC, to mobilize a "peoples-front" for a united program to exert pressure on the West German Government to repeal the statute of limitations. Frank J. Donner, attorney, was one of the speakers, according to the publication.

100-432605-31 p.2,3
(13,20)

The following references in the file captioned "Cominfil of United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America," file number 100-26912, contain information concerning Frank Donner as Counsel for the Union. He spoke at the 26th and 27th conventions of the UE in NYC and Long Beach, Calif., respectively, and reported on the legal situations facing the union and the entire labor movement at an executive board meeting in NYC.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-26912-5400 p.1,3	(11,18)
-5408 p.24,31,32	(11,18)
-5435 p.8,11	(11,19)
-5446 p.9,10,47	(11)
-5462 p.16,17	(11,19)

The following references in the file captioned "National Committee To Repeal The Mc Carran Act" (NCRMA) (1963), file number 100-440316, contain information concerning Frank Donner. On 5/18/63, Donner attended the organizing conference of the NCRMA in Chicago, Ill., and was elected a member of the national executive board.

(continued)

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(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-440316-8	(14)
-9 p.9,10	(14)
-10 p.3	(14)
-15 p.14,24	(14)
-29 p.3	(15)
-47 p.4,14	(15)
-54 p.4,12	(15)

The following references in the file captioned "Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee" (WACAHUAC), file number 100-434886, contain information concerning the activities of Frank Donner in this organization. Donner spoke at WACAHUAC meetings and appeared with Fulton Lewis, III on the television program "The Open End" on the subject "Whether or not the HCUA should be abolished." The WACAHUAC urged various organizations to read Donner's book "The Un-Americans," which was critical of the HUAC.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-434886-16	(13, 21)
-18 p.18,23,25,29,30	(13, 21)
-21 p.6	(14)
-49	(14)
-50 p.5,6	(14, 21)

The following references in the file captioned "World Fellowship Incorporated," file number 61-9200, contain information concerning the activities of Frank Donner, a member of the Advisory Board of this organization. He was listed as a speaker at the World Fellowship Summer Camp in Conway, New Hampshire in 1962 and 1963.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

61-9200-251 p.13	(10)
-259 p.26,27	(17)
-266 p.4,10	(18)
-276 p.9	(10, 18)

~~SECRET~~

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The following references pertain to reports on the investigations and/or hearings of Congressional Committees. Information regarding the CP activities of Frank Donner was set out in testimonies of individuals, reports and documents.

COMMITTEE	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
HCUA	61-7582-5362 encl. p.1478,1479	(17)
	-3212 encl. p.5161-5173	(9)
	Donner's testimony 6/28/56	
	-4171 encl. p.394,410,411, 427,438,447,452	(9,17)
	-4171 encl. p.455-460 Donner's testimony 3/11/59	(9,17)
SISS	62-69402-46 encl. p.228-235 Donner's testimony 5/12/48	(18)
	97-4196-860 encl. p.294	(10)

The following references in the file captioned [redacted] [redacted] file number 100-350464, contain information concerning the contacts of Frank J. Donner from August 1962 through January 1965 with [redacted] and his wife who were residing in the Soviet sector of Berlin Germany. These contacts consisted of correspondence regarding financial matters and renewal of passport. The [redacted] also used Donner's address as a forwarding address. It appeared that Donner was acting as an attorney for [redacted]

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REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-350464-55 p.1,2,4	(19)
-57 p.1-4	(19)
-88	(19)
-89	(19)
-94	(12,19)
-99 p.1,2	(12,20)
-100 p.2	(12)

~~SECRET~~

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

~~SECRET~~

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Differences in source will be noted on the search slip.

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE JUN 17 1966	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/18/66 - 6/9/66
TITLE OF CASE FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div>	TYPED BY dbr
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - C	

REFERENCE:New York report of SA , 6/18/65.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that Division.

SA AUGUST J. MICEK reviewed BSS records on 5/17/66.

The pretext on 6/8/66 was a telephone call by SA to the subject's office, under the guise of a publishing company compiling a current listing of attorneys in NY.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

5-Bureau (100-25688) (RM)
1-New Haven (100-14085) (Info) (RM)
1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)
3-New York (100-11342)

COPIES DESTROYED

JUL 15 1973

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO	SS		
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	7-14-66			
How Fwd.	RS	RS		
By	56 JUL 1 1966			

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-25688-147	REC-31
1 JUN 20 1966	ST-113

Notations

SUBV. CONTROL
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION
DATE 9-27-77 CAS/REC

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

NY T-2

NY T-3

NY T-4

[NY 1286-S*]

(U) Also used to characterize
ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-5

[Former NY 1537-S*]

(U) Used to characterize
ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-6

[NY 3225-S*]

(U) Used to characterize
ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-7

[NY 694-S*]

(U) Used to characterize
ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

NY T-8

NY 100-13644-9228

-9232

-9256

-9274

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b7C
b7D

COVER PAGE

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS CONT'D

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-9

NY T-10

NY T-11

NY T-12

Panel Source

100-80532-1B-105

NY T-13

[NY 2760-S*]

Used to characterize
HERBERT APTHEKER

The following NY informants, as mentioned in the
details, were contacted concerning the subject:

COVER PAGE

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current. ✓
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ **SECRET** because (state reason) **SECRET**
it indicates the FBI has coverage of various front groups in the NYC area, NY T-2 and NY T-3. If this were made known, it could be injurious to the National Defense.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) ✓
of his employment as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) ✓
subject stated on 1/22/65 that he had been a CP leader for 30 years (NYrep, 6/18/65). Instant report reflects various and considerable activity with front groups.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

COVER PAGE

- D* -



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. **Bureau 100-25688** ✓
New York 100-11342

Director

United States Secret Service

Department of the Treasury

Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~Re: **Frank Joris Donner** ✓

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
- ✓ 3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

✓ Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF Dee Cross
DATE 3-13-78 WFA/ky

Very truly yours,

DECLASSIFIED BY 5888
ON 3-10-28

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1)
U. S. Secret Service, New York City (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

Copy to: 1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)

b6
b7cReport of:
Date:

Office: New York, New York

JUN 17 1966

Field Office File #: 100-11342 ✓

Bureau File #: 100-25688 ✓

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNER ✓

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-10-2009

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C ✓

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Conn., and maintains a law office at 36 West 44th Street, NYC. Subject is also an attorney for and maintains an office at the UERMWA, 11 East 51st Street, NYC. Subject is a member of the National Executive Committee, NCRMA; a speaker at a meeting of the ECLC, December, 1965; one of the sponsors of a tribute to the Executive Director of the NCAAF, January, 1966; spoke at a meeting of the NLG, May, 1965; in contact with ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, June, 1965; reportedly representing MORTON SOBELL, August, 1965; reportedly contacted to aid legal defense of W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, March, 1966; one of the sponsors of a dinner honoring HERBERT APTHEKER, April, 1966. ✓

(U)

- C -

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

By means of a suitable pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 8, 1966, it was determined that the subject maintains a law office at 36 West 44th Street, New York City, and resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut. It was further

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

NY 100-11342

determined that the subject is an attorney for and maintains an office at the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), 11 East 51st Street, New York City.

A characterization of the UERMWA is contained in the Appendix hereto.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MOVEMENT

A. Evidence of CP Front Group Activity

On July 8, 1965, NY T-1 made available a letter on the letterhead stationery of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (NCRMA). At the bottom of the letterhead, the subject's name, among others, was set out as a member of the National Executive Committee.

A characterization of the NCRMA is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On December 10, 1965, NY T-2 advised that the subject, among others, was a speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), held on December 9, 1965 at the Carleton Terrace, 100th Street and Broadway, New York City.

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On January 26, 1966, NY T-3 made available an announcement of a dinner to be held on January 26, 1966 in the Grand Ballroom, Hotel Astor, Broadway and 44th Street, New York City, in tribute to RICHARD MOREFORD for 20 years of devoted service as Executive Director of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship (NCASF). The announcement listed the subject, among others, as one of the sponsors of the tribute.

NY 100-11342

The NCASF has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Records of the Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, as reviewed on May 17, 1966, reflected that FRANK DONNER, a member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), was the featured speaker at a membership meeting of the NLG held on May 19, 1965, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City.

A characterization of the NLG is contained in the Appendix hereto.

B. CP Associates

On June 1, 1965, NY T-4 advised that the subject, on that date, was in contact with ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN.

In recent years, NY T-4, NY T-5 and NY T-6 have advised that ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, a practicing attorney in New York City, was formerly employed by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, registered Soviet trade agency in the United States, in a legal capacity and continues to represent this agency from time-to-time. NEEDLEMAN has appeared in behalf of former or current members of the CP before Congressional committees and in the courts. He has contributed money and effort to numerous Communist front activities and has served as a custodian of CP funds. NEEDLEMAN has described himself as favoring strict adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrines and at one time participated in the solicitation of a fund to promote Marxist study and research.

In March, 1958, NY T-7 advised that NEEDLEMAN has served as a Soviet espionage agent.

NY 100-11342

C. Miscellaneous

On June 18, 1965, NY T-8 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

The above information and subsequent information from NY T-8 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The person to be subpoenaed is [REDACTED]

On July 19, 1965, NY T-8 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

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b7D

On December 15, 1965, NY T-8 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On April 18, 1966, NY T-8 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On August 18, 1965, NY T-9 advised that FRANK DONNER, among others, was in attendance at a social affair in Guilford, Connecticut on August 7, 1965, for the purpose of raising money to purchase books to be placed in libraries. According to NY T-9, the subject was introduced as the speaker of the evening and his theme was the "Cold War". The subject spoke about the book "Invitation to an Inquest" very briefly, and then spoke

NY 100-11342

about a motion, a copy of which he had with him, that was to be filed within a few months by MORTON SOBELL, who the subject is now representing. In this motion, it is stated that the government more or less framed SOBELL with Exhibit Number 16, a hotel registration card from the Hilton Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

MORTON SOBELL was convicted on March 29, 1951 in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union and was sentenced on April 5, 1951 to 30 years imprisonment. He is currently serving his sentence in the custody of the Attorney General.

On August 18, 1965, NY T-10 furnished substantially the same information as above concerning subject's attendance at a social affair on August 7, 1965.

On March 17, 1966, NY T-11 advised that on March 15, 1966, a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America was held at 1830 Fell Street, San Francisco, California. According to NY T-11, one of those present gave a report on his trip to New York to arrange legal defense for the DuBois Clubs in response to the order by the Attorney General that they register as a Communist front organization. NY T-11 said it was reported that the subject was one of the attorneys who had been contacted to aid in the legal defense.

A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On March 30, 1966, NY T-12 made available an invitation to a testimonial dinner honoring HERBERT APTHEKER on the occasion of his 50th birthday. This testimonial dinner was held on the evening of April 28, 1966, at the New York Hilton Hotel, 6th Avenue and West 53rd Street, New York City. The subject's name was included in this invitation as one of the sponsors of the affair.

NY 100-11342

NY T-13 advised in December, 1959 that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, United States of America (USA), at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in New York City in December, 1959. ~~C~~ (U)

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain New York informants, who are acquainted with various phases of CP activity in the New York area, advised in May, 1966 that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

"1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

NY 100 11342

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

1.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL
THE MC CARRAN ACT (1963).

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (NCRMA) maintains headquarters in Room 318, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in May, 1963, that the NCRMA is the outgrowth of an Ad Hoc Committee of Initiators, headed by Professor CLYDE MILLER of New York, who solicited signatures to a Petition to the President of the United States in 1962 which called for the repeal of the McCarran Act. The NCRMA held its formation meeting at Chicago on May 18, 1963; the stated purpose of the Committee is to seek repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 as amended. As of July, 1963, its purpose is the same.

Source advised that the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR), and its Executive Secretary RICHARD CRILEY, gave full support to organizing this new organization. At the May 18, 1963 formation meeting, Reverend WILLIAM T. BAIRD, Executive Director of the CCDBR, was named National Administrator of the NCRMA.

A second source advised in April and May, 1963, that the Communist Party, USA (CP) interest in NCRMA has been to give it full support and approval and it takes the position that the Committee composition must be extremely broad and the Party's direct influence must be kept to a minimum. The CP believes the new Committee will serve its purpose in fighting the McCarran Act alone and the CP has everything to gain by taking this position. The CP reportedly has agreed to make funds available to this Committee.

A third source advised as of May, 1963, that RICHARD CRILEY was then a member of the CP.

CLYDE MILLER, according to the "Daily Worker", issue of March 5, 1941, was a signer of a statement to the President defending the CP.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast communist daily newspaper which ceased publication January 13, 1958.

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APPENDIX

2.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL
THE MC CARRAN ACT (1963)

LOLA BELLE HOLMES, a CP member from August, 1957 to January, 1963, advised in August, 1958, that Reverend BAIRD stated that he was a "religious communist" and that he believed there was a relationship between science, religion and communism and was attempting to prove his theory.

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

1.

APPENDIX

UNITED ELECTRICAL,
RADIO AND MACHINE
WORKERS OF AMERICA

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication Number 212, Sixth Edition, 1952, discloses on pages 32-34, "UE - the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time, the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information. In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "Communist leadership.....strongly entrenched." The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the Unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its Communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate", on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America."

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 19, 1965, edition of "UE News," official organ of UE.

APPENDIX

1.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

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APPENDIX

2.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day week end, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included [redacted] (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as [redacted] of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); [redacted] (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964, according to a fifth source); [redacted] (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the [redacted] on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); [redacted] (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and [redacted] (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965, in connection with the DCA Summer Project).

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~~SECRET~~

14*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bureau 100-25688 ✓
New York 100-11342

JUN 17 1966

Title

Frank Joris Donner ✓

Character

Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at New York.

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b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-18-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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62 OCT 15 1973

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/16/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/24/67 - 6/8/67
TITLE OF CASE FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY slg
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-C	

b6
b7cREFERENCE:

New York report of SA [REDACTED] 6/17/66. ✓

-C-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that Division.

SA AUGUST J. MICEK reviewed BSS records on 5/9/67.

The pretext on 6/8/67 was a telephone call to the subject's office on 44th Street, NYC, by SA [REDACTED] under the guise of a personal friend.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 5-Bureau (100-25688) (RM)
1-New Haven (100-14085) (Info) (RM)
1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)
3-New York (100-11342) ✓

COPIES DESTROYED

62 OCT 15 1973

700 51 4 02 11 81

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO	SS	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	6-30-67		
How Fwd.	RS	RS	
By	T. J. McManis		

Notations

SUBV CONTROL
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION
DATE 9/27/77 GAO/REC

56 JUL 3 1968

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize HERBERT APTHEKER

NY T-2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] State University
College, Brockport, NY

100-11342-602

NY T-3

[REDACTED]

100-13644-9287

-9299

-9306

-9318

-9324

-9326

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The following informants were contacted concerning
the subject, with negative results:

[REDACTED]

COVER PAGE

-B-

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current. ✓
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available. ✓
Date photograph was taken 2/61.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified "Confidential" because
(state reason) of information furnished by NY T-1-NY T-3. ✓
If the identity of these sources was disclosed,
it could be injurious to the national defense.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
of his employment as an attorney and his hostility
displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959. ✓
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because
(state reason) subject stated on 1/22/65 that he had been
a CP leader for 30 years (NYrep, 6/18/65). Instant
and referenced reports reflect various and consider-
able activity with front groups. ✓
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

COVER PAGE

-C*-



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-25688
NY file 100-11342

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 16, 1967

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Re: Frank Joris Donner

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
- ✓ 3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
- ✓ 6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1) (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, New York City

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (1) (RM) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

1-Secret Service, New York City (RM)

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b7C

Report of:

Date:

6/16/67

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #:

100-11342 ✓

Bureau File #: 100-25688 ✓

Title:

FRANK JORIS DONNER ✓

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) OF

DATE

Declass

5-13-78 JEB/teg

Character:

SECURITY MATTER-C ✓

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is self-employed as an attorney at 36 West 44th Street, NYC. Subject is also an attorney for and maintains an office at the UERMWA, 11 East 51st Street, NYC. Subject attended an affair sponsored by the ECLC, December, 1966, NYC; was a sponsor of a dinner in tribute to the executive director of the NCASF, January, 1966, NYC; was a sponsor of a dinner in honor of HERBERT APTHEKER, April, 1966, NYC; spoke at "FBI Teach-In" at the State University College, Brockport, NY, April, 1967, when he was critical of FBI. //

-C-

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

A pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 8, 1967, ascertained that the subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is self employed as an attorney in Room 311, 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

The pretext further ascertained that the subject is an attorney for and maintains an office at the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), 11 East 51st Street, New York City.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 5886
ON 3-10-78

NY 100-11342

A characterization of the UERMWA is contained in the Appendix.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MOVEMENT

Evidence of CP Front Group Activity

Records of the Bureau of Special Services, (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD), as reviewed on May 9, 1967, reflected that the subject was in attendance at a Bill of Rights Dinner sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), held on December 16, 1966, at the Americana Hotel, New York City.

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the Appendix hereto.

BSS records further reflected that the subject's name appeared on a partial list of sponsors of the RICHARD MORFORD 20th Anniversary Committee, which sponsored a dinner on January 26, 1966, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, in tribute to MORFORD for 20 years service as executive director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF).

The NCASF has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Miscellaneous

Records of the BSS, NYCPD, further reflected that the subject attended or was a sponsor of a testimonial dinner in honor of HERBERT APTHEKER at the Hotel New York Hilton, New York City, on April 28, 1966, to celebrate APTHEKER's 50th birthday, the publication of his 20th book, and the second anniversary of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS).

In June, 1966, NY T-1 advised that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) at the 18th National Convention of the CP held in New York City, June 22-26, 1966. *f*

NY 100-11342

A characterization of AIMS is contained in the Appendix hereto.

On April 10, 1967, NY T-2 advised that on April 9, 1967, an "FBI Teach-In" was held in the Memorial Lounge of the Student Union at the State University College, Brockport, New York.

According to NY T-2, FRANK J. DONNER, a constitutional lawyer from New York City, was one of the speakers at the teach-in and he criticized the FBI as the "prime agent for curbing dissent on American College campuses". DONNER depicted Director HOOVER as a "resolute sheriff" who "sometimes recalls to the citizenry the fears of Communist subversion, and acts as an authoritative political censor for the United States".

DONNER alleged that the FBI has a "network of spies who spy on left wing student groups in many colleges."

On June 8, 1966, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

The above information and subsequent information from NY T-3 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

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b7C
b7D

The person to be subpoenaed is [REDACTED]

On September 13, 1966, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On October 13, 1966, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

NY 100-11342

On January 2, 1967, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On February 10, 1967, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

b7D

On March 10, 1967, NY T-3 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

III. MISCELLANEOUS


Certain New York informants who are acquainted with various phases of CP activity in the New York area advised in May, 1967, that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES, Also Known As AIMS

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City. 

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source reported on August 29, 1966, that AIMS was located on the fifth floor west of 20 East 30th Street, New York, New York, and issues a "Newsletter" every other month. This source made available the information that AIMS issues publications and holds symposiums concerning Marxism.

NY 100-11342

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

NY 100-11342

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-11342

APPENDIX

1.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE)

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication #212, 6th Edition, 1952, discloses on pages 32-34, "UE-the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time, the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information: In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "Communist leadership....strongly entrenched." The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the Unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its Communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957; Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America."

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 18, 1966, edition of "UE News," official organ of UE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
June 16, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile 100-25688 ✓
NYfile 100-11342

Title Frank Joris Donner ✓

Character Security Matter-C ✓

Reference is made to the report of
Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above,
at New York.

b6
b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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62 OCT 15 1973



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

December 29, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bufile 100-25688

NYfile 100-11342

SUBJECT: FRANK JORIS DONNER

REFERENCE: MEMORANDUM DATED 9-30-64

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence:

Employment: Attorney, Room 311, 36 West 44th St., N.Y., N.Y.,
Also, Attorney, United Electrical, Radio and
Machine Workers of America, 11 East 51st St., N.Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

FD-122 DETACHED
53 JAN 10 1967

Copy to _____
By routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 1-9-67
by [signature]

100-25688-
NOT RECORDED

10 JAN 3 1967

SUBV. CONTROL
[signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Director, FBI (Bufile - 100-25688)

DATE: 12-29-66

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342)

SUBJECT: FRANK JORIS DONNER
SM-C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Cards UTD
Cards Sent OO

1/6/67
aa

Re: _____

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (*specify change only*):

Name				
Aliases				
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien				
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (<i>specify</i>) _____				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (<i>show name of employing concern and address</i>) Attorney, Room 311, 36 West 44th Street, N.Y.; Also, Attorney, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 11 East 51st Street, N.Y., N.Y.				
Key Facility Data				
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____				
Interested Agencies _____				
Residence Address				

REGISTERED MAIL
2-Bureau
1-New York
JJP/cr
(3)

57 JAN 9 1967

NOT RECORDED

JAN 10 1967

SUBV. CONTROL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 22, 1966

BY LIAISON

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick
1 - Sullivan
1 - Bland
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Wells

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

(enclosure)

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memoranda are being furnished in view of the President's interest in the hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the period August 16 - 19, 1966.

The enclosed memoranda relate to six of the attorneys who represented the individuals who were subpoenaed to testify before the Committee. In addition, the files of this Bureau do not contain any derogatory information of a subversive nature concerning John J. Pemberton, Jr., of New York City and [redacted] of New York City who are attorneys and who also represented some of the witnesses.

Copies of the enclosed memoranda are being furnished to the Attorney General.

Upon removal of the classified enclosures, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Enclosures - 6

105-138315

JEK:pdb (8)

Delivered to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
by [redacted] 8-22-66

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

NOT RECORDED

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105-138315-3666

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Aug 22 11 07

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

See cover memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to W. B. Sullivan, dated 8/20/66, captioned "House Committee on Un-American Activities Hearings, August 16 - 19, 1966," prepared by JHK:pdh.

Classified "~~Confidential~~" inasmuch as the enclosures are so classified.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 22, 1966

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick
1 - Sullivan
1 - Bland
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Wells

FRANK JORIS DONNER

Frank Joris Donner was born on February 25, 1911, at Brooklyn, New York. He resides at 30 Dock Road, South Norwalk, Connecticut. He maintains a law office at 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

Donner has been associated with numerous communist front organizations over the years and has served as the attorney for a number of Communist Party, USA, functionaries who were tried for violations of the Smith Act of 1940. Three admitted former Communist Party, USA, members have advised that from 1939 to 1942 Donner was a member of a secret Communist Party, USA, apparatus for Government employees in Washington, D. C., and conducted apparatus meetings at his home during this period. In 1956, he appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States 33 times when questioned concerning the Communist Party affiliations of himself and acquaintances. Again in 1959 he appeared before the Committee and invoked his constitutional privilege in response to questions respecting his Communist Party membership. Subsequent to this appearance and up to the present time, Donner has continued to be affiliated with various communist front organizations.

105-138315

1 - 100-25688 (Frank Joris Donner)
JHK:pdb (12)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF DECLASSIFICATION
DATE 9-26-77 GAW/RCC

Xerox copies being sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General; and Assistant Attorney General Yeagley by cover letters.

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" as some of the information included in this summary comes from sensitive sources, the compromise of which would be detrimental to the United States.

See cover memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, 8/20/66, prepared by JHK:pdb.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Declassified by
2333 Gaf:G
9-19-77

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)

Date 7-7-66

To:

☒ Director

FILE # Bulite 100-25688

Att.:

NY 100-11342

☐ SAC

Title FRANK JORIS DONNER

☐ ASAC

SM-C

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Return serials

☐ Delinquent

☐ Search and return

☐ Discontinue

☐ See me

☐ Expedite

☐ Send Serials

☐ File

☐ to

☐ For information

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Initial & return

☐ Submit report by

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Type

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Re apt SA [redacted]

Bureau R/S 6-27-66.

6-17-66 and

100-25688-

NOT RECORDED

Page 3, PAR 1 - NO CONFLICTS IN JUL 13 1966 -

CORRECT AS REPORTED.

SAC JOHN F. MALONE

See reverse side

Office NEW YORK

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b7C

319
69 JUL 15 1966

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

April 19, 1968

MR. DE LOACH

RE: FRANK JORIS DONNER

My memorandum to you of April 18th attached an article prepared by Edward J. Mowery, a columnist for General Features, which will be used Sunday, April 28, 1968, which is based on information previously furnished to Mowery by me after it had been approved by Mr. Hoover. The Mowery column of April 28 does a good job of neutralizing Donner and his left-wing theories.

Mowery telephonically advised me on April 18th that he has expanded on this column in another column which he has prepared for the New York Knickerbocker and which will be released May 5, 1968. A copy of this column is attached. It will be noted that in the expanded column Mowery not only "does a job" on Donner, but also gives a very strong defense for the necessity of investigations being conducted on college campuses. It also points up appearances on these campuses by representatives of the Communist Party.

RECOMMENDATION

None. For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Enclosure)

TEB:mls
(5)

ENCLOSURE

MAY 8 1968

XEROX 21

MAY 15 1968

EX-102

REC-100

1 MAY 1 1968

CRIME RESEARCH

94-4-3103-
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FLUSHING WRIGGLING REDS
FROM COLLEGIATE WOODWORK !

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

BY EDWARD J. MOWERY

DID YOU KNOW THAT A HORRENDOUS INVASION OF "POLITICAL" PRIVACY IS UNDER WAY ON OUR CAMPUSES? THAT LEGIONS OF CLEAN-CUT, PATRIOTIC COLLEGE STUDENTS RESENT THE SLIMY, ON-CAMPUS HARRANGUES OF ASSORTED COMMUNIST LECTURERS AND COOPERATE IN ROOTING OUT THE ODDBALLS ? THAT CITY, STATE AND FEDERAL EXPERTS ON SUBVERSION KEEP RUNNING-CHARTS ON THE IDENTITY AND ACTIVITIES OF NEOPHYTE COLLEGIATE MARXISTS ?

WITH GALLANT AMERICAN BOYS DYING BY THE HUNDREDS AT THE HANDS OF VIET NAM COMMUNISTS, MOST OF US WOULD SALUTE ANY EFFORT TO ROUT RED WORMS FROM OUR CAMPUSES. BUT NOT A FELLOW NAMED FRANK JORIS DONNER WHO USES 7,000 WORDS OF PAP IN A NATIONAL MAGAZINE TO DECRY "CAMPUS SPYING" BY THE FBI AND "RED SQUADS" OF VARIOUS LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

DONNER'S MIXED-UP, CLICHE-PEPPERED TOME ISN'T EASY TO READ. AND IT ISN'T WORTH TOO MUCH STRAIN. BUT IF I "DIG" HIS FEVERISH TRAJECTORY, HE'S TRYING TO PROVE A NEGATIVE. THERE'S NO COMMUNIST MENACE, AND WHY TRY TO KEEP TABS ON RADICAL CAMPUS AGITATORS WHO MAY SOW PURE TREASON ^(AMONG) ADOLESCENT ENROLLEES?

THIS, DONNER SAYS, CLASHES WITH THAT OLD BROMIDE, "ACADEMIC FREEDOM" AND EMERGES AS "POLITICAL" SURVEILLANCE. DONNER, WHO HAS MODESTLY DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS A "CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER," DISPLAYS A CURIOUSLY INEPT KNOWLEDGE OF THE MANDATED INTERNAL SECURITY MECHANISM AND DUTIES OF THOSE WHO ENFORCE IT.

DONNER CRIES IN HIS SOUP ABOUT INFRINGEMENT OF "CIVIL LIBERTIES" ON CAMPUS, THE EXISTENCE OF "RIGHT-WINGED" CIA AND FBI INFORMERS IN THE STUDENT BODY, AND THE "INORDINATE PREOCCUPATION" OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE WITH THE CAMPUS SCENE.

THE CIA, OF COURSE, HAS NO INTERNAL SECURITY JURISDICTION. AND DONNER HAS GOOD REASON TO RESPECT THE ANTI-SUBVERSION THRUSTS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

- MORE -

100-25698-1419
ENCLOSURE

DONNER SHUDDERS AT THE COOPERATION OF COLLEGE OFFICIALS WITH AUTHORITIES SEEKING TO PROTECT STUDENTS "FROM BEING DUPED BY WILY COMMUNISTS." AND HE OBSERVES GRATUITOUSLY THAT AS A GROUP, COLLEGE TEACHERS DOMINATE THE NEW LEFT "INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY," ALSO KNOWN AS THE "BUBBLEHEAD FACTORY."

WITH TRUE HAWKSHAW INSTINCT, DONNER ALSO REVEALS THAT UNIVERSITIES SUCH AS OHIO STATE, DUKE, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, TEXAS, KANSAS AND MICHIGAN STATE ARE COLLABORATING WITH THE FBI IN KEEPING TABS ON CAMPUS ODDBALLS. HAPPY DAY! BUT DONNER'S VENOM TARGETS IN ON FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, CHARGED WITH IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUALS WORKING AGAINST THEIR COUNTRY'S BEST INTERESTS, TAGGING THEIR OBJECTIVES AND NULLIFYING THEIR EFFECTIVENESS.

THE FBI OFFERS NO APOLOGIES FOR ITS ZEAL IN PROTECTING INTERNAL SECURITY. AND CERTAINLY, SUBVERSIVES IN PROFESSORIAL OR COLLEGIATE GARB ARE NO LESS DEADLY THAN GRUBBY COMMUNISTS PURSUING THEIR INTRIGUE IN BACK ROOMS.

COLLEGE OFFICIALS COOPERATING IN RIDDING THE COLLEGIATE WOODWORK OF RADICAL WORMS? IT'S THEIR DUTY. AMERICANS FIGHTING THE REDS IN ASIA ALSO HAVE A STAKE IN "ACADEMIC FREEDOM."

* * *

WHO IS DONNER? HE'S A MANHATTAN LAWYER. HE WAS ATTACHED TO THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD IN THE EARLY '40S, SERVED AS A TOP LEGAL AID OF THE CIO AND GENERAL COUNSEL FOR THE UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS UNION AFTER ITS EXPULSION FROM THE CIO FOR ITS COMMUNIST INFLUENCES.

THE (DEFUNCT) DAILY WORKER DULY NOTED DONNER'S AFFILIATION WITH THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CITED BY TWO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AS A COMMUNIST FRONT - "THE FOREMOST LEGAL BULWARK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY." AND WHEN THE GARRULOUS DONNER WAS QUESTIONED BY THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE ABOUT HIS ALLEGED CP ACTIVITIES, IN '56 AND '59, HE INVOKED THE "FIFTH" 33 TIMES AT ONE SITTING.

- MORE -

DONNER HAS ASSERTEDLY DENIED THAT HE WAS EVER A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. BUT HE HELPED PREPARE THE DEFENSE OF PARTY BIGSHOTS AT NEW HAVEN, PHILADELPHIA AND PITTSBURGH CHARGED WITH VIOLATING THE SMITH ACT. AND FOR 14 YEARS, HE HAS AUTHORED NUMEROUS ARTICLES AND BOOKS WITH A SINGLE THEME: UNCLE SAM'S EFFORTS TO EXPOSE COMMUNISM ARE A DISGUISE TO ENFORCE "POLITICAL" CONFORMITY OF ITS CITIZENS.

EQUATING THE MARXIST CONSPIRACY WITH "POLITICS" IS AS AGED AS THE WALLS OF THE KREMLIN. DONNER ISN'T IMPORTANT. BUT EXPLODING "RADICALIZATION" OF AMERICA'S CAMPUSES SHOULD BE OF VITAL CONCERN TO EVERY CITIZEN.

J. EDGAR HOOVER, WHO ENJOYS THE BURNING HATRED OF THE RED CABAL, SENSES THE ~~GRAVITY~~ OF THE COMMUNIST CAMPUS DRIVE TO SUBVERT YOUTH AND IS TAKING EVERY PRECAUTION TO DULL ITS IMPACT.

"SUPPOSE," THE FBI CHIEF OBSERVED, "THAT COMMUNISM ADVERTISED ITS TRUE ~~AIMS~~ LIKE THIS: 'WANTED: YOUNG PEOPLE TO HELP BURY AMERICA. NO PRIOR EXPERIENCE NECESSARY.'

"WITH SUCH AN APPEAL, COMMUNISM WOULD BECOME A DUSTY, COBWEB-COVERED DOCTRINE UNTOUCHED BY YOUNG AMERICANS STEEPED IN A HERITAGE OF LIBERTY AND FREEDOM. BUT THE TREACHERY OF COMMUNISM DOES NOT PERMIT SUCH A FACTUAL RECRUITING POSTER.

"YOUNG PEOPLE IN RECORD NUMBERS ARE ENTERING COLLEGE CLASSROOMS TO ENGAGE IN ONE OF MAN'S MOST NOBLE PURSUITS: THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH THROUGH THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE. IN AMERICA, THIS ENDEAVOR IS AS HONORED AS THE FREEDOMS WHICH MAKE IT POSSIBLE. IT IS AN UNDENIABLE FACT THAT UNDER COMMUNISM THESE FREEDOMS DO NOT EXIST."

MARXISM, HOOVER SAID, STIPULATES THE WARPED "TRUTHS" ITS ADHERENTS MUST EMBRACE AND DISSEMINATES ITS "VENOMOUS" LIES THROUGH ANY AND ALL MEDIA. A PRIMARY AVENUE OF ~~EXPLOITING~~ AND PROPAGANDIZING THE MASSES - THE CP'S "CENTRAL DOGMAS" - IS THE AMERICAN CAMPUS WHERE FRONT GROUPS MANIPULATE SPEAKING "INVITATIONS" TO TOPFLIGHT COMMUNISTS.

PROMINENT AMONG SUCH FRONT GROUPS, HOOVER EXPLAINED, ARE THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (NAMED IN HONOR OF A COMMUNIST). AS FOR THE NOISY, MILITANT GROUP BILLED AS STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, HOOVER SAID COMMUNISTS ARE "ACTIVELY PROMOTING AND PARTICIPATING" IN THE ORGANIZATION WHICH CLAIMS 3,000 MEMBERS IN 100-PLUS "CHAPTERS" AROUND THE COUNTRY.

"ITS MEMBERS," THE OFFICIAL CONTINUED, "CONDEMN OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM, THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE AND OUR ESTABLISHED FORM OF GOVERNMENT."

THIS TRIPLE ADVOCACY SPELLS A MINOR FORM OF ANARCHY. THE COLORATION OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CONTINUOUSLY SEEPS THROUGH ITS "CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY" CAMOUFLAGE. HOOVER RECALLED THAT 20 OF 100 PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING THE GROUP'S NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING IN '65 HAD "PAST OR PRESENT AFFILIATIONS WITH THE CP OR OTHER SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS."

COMMUNISTS FROM OVER THE NATION JOINED THE ORGANIZATION'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON THREE YEARS AGO, INCLUDING 70 COMRADES FROM NEW YORK CITY ALONE. TWO MONTHS LATER, HOOVER DECLARED, AMONG DELEGATES TO THE ORGANIZATION'S NATIONAL CONVENTION (NEAR KEWADIN, MICH.) WERE SPOKESMEN FROM VIRTUALLY "EVERY SUBVERSIVE GROUP IN THE COUNTRY."

WHETHER IT'S THE "NEW LEFT" OR THE "OLD LEFT," THE FBI DIRECTOR SAID GRIMLY, THE COMMUNIST EMPHASIS IS ON WHOLESALE SUBVERSION OF YOUTH. CITING THE RISE IN COMMUNIST PARTY SPEAKERS ON VARIOUS CAMPUSES (SEE CHART), HOOVER NOTED THAT SPEAKERS MOUTHING THE MARXIST LINE AT STUDENT ASSEMBLIES AVERAGED 50 APPEARANCES YEARLY FROM 1961 TO 1965. IN THE 1965-66 ACADEMIC YEAR, THE TOTAL ZOOMED TO 69.

THEIR PITCH WASN'T STATIC.

"THEY HIT HARD AT THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS ROLE IN THE VIET NAM WAR," THE OFFICIAL SAID, "ESPECIALLY WHEN STUDENT ASSEMBLIES WERE PEPPERED WITH DRAFT-AGE LISTENERS. THE COMMUNISTS FEEL THAT OUR NATION IS WITNESSING A NEW UPSURGE IN "LEFTIST" THINKING AMONG YOUTH WHICH MAKES THE MARXIST MESSAGE MORE PALATABLE.

"AND...THEY ENJOY THE CONTROVERSY THEIR CAMPUS APPEARANCES FREQUENTLY PROVOKE.

- MORE -

"AN UPROAR ENABLES THE CAMPUS AGITATOR TO DON COMPLETELY THE UN-DESERVED ROLE OF A PERSECUTED DEFENDER OF FREE SPEECH. AMONG THE SPEAKERS' STOCK ANSWERS FOR QUESTIONS POSED BY STUDENTS ARE THE BLAND ASSURANCE THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA HAS NO ORGANIZATIONAL TIES WITH ITS COUNTERPART IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND IF THEY EVER ATTAIN POWER HERE, THE FREE PRESS WILL CONTINUE IN THE 'AMERICAN TRADITION.' "

THESE ANSWERS NOT INEQUENTLY TRIGGER HOWLS OF LAUGHTER FROM RED-WISE UNDERGRADUATES. BUT THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT SPOON-FED POISON TO STUDENT CROWDS OF UP TO 4,000 IS LEAVING ITS MARK. HOOVER REVEALED THAT THE COMMUNIST THRUST FOR CAMPUS RECRUITS WAS CUNNINGLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED.

MORE THAN 700 EDITORS OF COLLEGE PUBLICATIONS, HE DECLARED, RECEIVED (COMMUNIST) FROM PARTY PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR ARNOLD JOHNSON A COPY OF THE REDS' "NEW" PROGRAM. THE EDITORS WERE INVITED TO COMMENT "EDITORIALLY" ON THE PROGRAM - A SOFT-SELL LECTERN (THE) IN STUDENTS' OWN PAPER. EDITORS ALSO WERE URGED TO MAKE THE COMMUNIST DRIVE AVAILABLE AT COLLEGE BOOKSTORES TO UNDERGRADUATES WRITING TERM PAPERS ON COMMUNISM, OR THOSE DEBATING "COMMUNIST VIEWPOINTS."

THIS IS THE REDS' BRAZEN, NEW DIRECT APPROACH TO STUDENT FUNCTIONARIES, HOPING THAT A SINGLE SEED WILL TAKE ROOT. BURIED DEEPLY IN THE NOTE TO EDITORS WAS THE PERVADING LURE: THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL GLADLY PROVIDE "AUTHORITATIVE AND CAPABLE" SPEAKERS FOR CAMPUS FUNCTIONS OF BOTH STUDENTS AND FACULTY MEMBERS. AND IT WOULD BE JUST DANDY IF THE COLLEGE PAPER OR CAMPUS ORGANIZATION WOULD "SPONSOR" THE SPEAKER'S APPEARANCE.

THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNISTS' OVERT PITCH TO COLLEGE EDITORS ISN'T KNOWN.

THOSE OF "LIBERTINE" LEANINGS - INCLUDING THE AUTHOR OF "CAMPUS SPYING" - SEE NOTHING SINISTER IN COMMUNISTS PRESENTING THEIR VIEWS BEFORE COLLEGE GROUPS, EVEN THOUGH ADOLESCENT MINDS ARE BEING MANIPULATED BY MASTER PROPAGANDISTS.

LEANING ON HIS VAST KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNISM'S DEADLY GOALS, HOOVER COMMENTED:

"WE ALL BELIEVE IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM. BUT THIS DOES NOT GRANT LICENSE TO DELIBERATELY PRESENT DISTORTIONS OR FALSEHOODS. COMMUNISTS AREN'T OBLIGATED MORALLY OR OTHERWISE TO SEEK FOR, OR TELL THE TRUTH.

"SOME YOUNG PEOPLE ARE CAPABLE OF RECOGNIZING AND EXPOSING PROPAGANDA. OTHERS ARE NOT. THIS IS THE DANGEROUS THING, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT COMMUNISTS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE CONDUCTING AN ENERGETIC PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO RECRUIT YOUTH, TO REACH THEIR HEARTS, MINDS AND SOULS."

CONCERNING THE YOUTH GROUPS WORKING UNDER CP ^{GUIDANCE} ~~SPONSORSHIP~~ ON CAMPUSES, HOOVER SAID:

"THE TRUE FACE OF COMMUNISM NOW HAS ANOTHER MASK TO WEAR, A DISGUISE CALCULATED TO DUPE UNWARY YOUTH. THE OFFICIAL INSIGNIA OF THE PARTY-SPAWNED DUBOIS CLUBS, FOR INSTANCE, IS A HALF-WHITE, HALF-BLACK CIRCLE ENCOMPASSING A WHITE HAND AND A BLACK HAND UNDER A DOVE.

"BUT A LOOK OVER THEIR SHOULDER REVEALS THE OTHER HAND CLASPING THE BERLIN WALL AND SQUEEZING FREEDOM'S BREATH FROM ENSLAVED MILLIONS. IT IS THIS DUPLICITY THAT IS DIFFICULT FOR YOUNG AMERICANS TO COMPREHEND.

"IF OUR YOUNG CITIZENS TURN AN OBJECTIVE, ANALYTICAL SEARCHLIGHT ON THIS IDEOLOGY AND ITS ORGANIZATIONAL ARMS, THEY WILL UNDERSTAND COMMUNISM FOR WHAT IT IS -- A MATERIALISTIC, GODLESS DOGMA ^{DEDICATED} ~~CONCERNED~~ TO WORLD DOMINATION.

"GANGRENOUS COMMUNISM IS ATTEMPTING TO RENDER FUTURE AMERICA A QUADRUPLE AMPUTEE -- A NATION WITHOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, AND RELIGION. ARMED WITH THE SCALPEL OF TRUTH, OUR YOUTH CAN AND MUST CUT THIS DISEASE FROM THE BODY OF AMERICA."

J. EDGAR HOOVER...THINKS THEY WILL.

FROM TESTIMONY OF FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER BEFORE HOUSE
APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, FEB. 10, 1966

Communist Party—U.S.A. public appearances of party leaders, school year 1955-56

School	Speaker	Date
1. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio	Herbert Aptheker	10-18-55
2. University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn.	do.	10-27-55
3. Ventura College, Ventura, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	11- 3-55
4. City College of New York, New York, N.Y.	Gil Green	11- 4-55
5. City College of New York, New York, N.Y.	Herbert Aptheker	11- 5-55
6. University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah	Mortimer Daniel Rubin	11- 9-55
7. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.	Herbert Aptheker	11-13-55
8. San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, Calif.	do.	11-15-55
9. University of California at Santa Barbara, Goleta, Calif.	do.	11-16-55
10. Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.	James Jackson	11-16-55
11. California State College, Goleta, Calif.	Herbert Aptheker	11-16-55
12. California State College, Los Angeles, Calif.	do.	11-17-55
13. University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.	do.	11-17-55
14. University of Minnesota, Duluth, Minn.	Arnold Johnson	11-18-55
15. University of California, Berkeley, Calif.	Herbert Aptheker	11-19-55
16. Baldwin Wallace College, Berea, Ohio	Anthony Krehmarek	11-20-55
17. City College of New York, New York, N.Y.	Herbert Aptheker	12- 3-55
18. Fairleigh-Dickinson University, Rutherford, N.J.	Gus Hall	12-13-55
19. Columbia University, New York, N.Y.	do.	12-15-55
20. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.	Hyman Lumer	1- 7-56
21. Great Neck Senior High School, Great Neck, N.Y.	Herbert Aptheker	1-27-56
22. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.	do.	2-10-56
23. Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	Gus Hall	2-11-56
24. Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.	Herbert Aptheker	2-11-56
25. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.	do.	2-11-56
26. Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.	do.	2-16-56
27. University of Texas, Austin, Tex. (off campus)	John Stanford	2-21-56
28. Hunter College, New York, N.Y.	Herbert Aptheker	3- 2-56
29. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.	do.	3- 5-56
30. Duke University, Durham, N.C.	do.	3- 8-56
31. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. (off campus)	do.	3- 9-56
32. Queens College, New York, N.Y.	do.	3-11-56
33. Boston University, Boston, Mass.	do.	3-13-56
34. Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.	do.	3-13-56
35. St. Francis College, Biddeford, Maine	do.	3-16-56
36. St. Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg, N.C.	Arnold Johnson	3-18-56
37. St. Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg, N.C.	do.	(a.m.) 3-18-56 (p.m.)
38. Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.	Herbert Aptheker	3-21-56
39. Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	Thomas Dennis	3-24-56
40. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	Herbert Aptheker	3-24-56
41. University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	3-25-56
42. Mundelein College, Chicago, Ill.	Louis Diskin	3-29-56
43. Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y.	Herbert Aptheker	3-30-56
44. Hunter College, New York, N.Y.	do.	3-31-56
45. New York University, New York, N.Y.	do.	4- 8-56
46. Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.	Claude Lightfoot	4-18-56
47. University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.	Herbert Aptheker	4-20-56
48. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.	do.	4-21-56
49. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.	do.	4-23-56
50. De Paul University, Chicago, Ill.	Louis Diskin	4-24-56
51. University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	4-29-56
52. Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.	Herbert Aptheker	4-30-56
53. University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.	do.	5- 2-56
54. Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.	do.	5- 2-56
55. Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	George Meyers	5- 3-56
56. Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.	Herbert Aptheker	5- 3-56
57. Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.	do.	(a.m.) 5- 3-56 (p.m.)
58. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	Claude Lightfoot	5- 3-56
59. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.	Herbert Aptheker	5- 4-56
60. Fairleigh-Dickinson University, Rutherford, N.J.	Gil Green	5- 5-56
61. Albion College, Albion, Mich.	Gus Hall	5- 5-56
62. Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa	Herbert Aptheker	5-10-56
63. California State College, Los Angeles, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	5-11-56
64. University of Maryland, College Park, Md.	George Meyers, Arnold Johnson	5-16-56
65. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.	Gil Green	5-17-56
66. Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.	Herbert Aptheker	5-17-56
67. Kent State University, Kent, Ohio	do.	5-19-56
68. San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	5-25-56
69. University of California, Irvine, Calif.	do.	5-27-56

➤ BRIARCLIFF COLLEGE, BRIARCLIFF MANOR, N.Y.

NOTE: COMMUNISTS MADE 12 APPEARANCES ON NEW YORK CAMPUSES (INCLUDING A SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL IN GREAT NECK) — THE LARGEST NUMBER

52 IN THE NATION. NEW JERSEY: 5; CONNECTICUT: 1.

CALIFORNIA WAS 20 HIGHEST WITH 11.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: FRANK JORIS DONNER

DATE: 5/29/68

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Brent

As you know, with the Director's approval we cooperated with Edward J. Mowery, columnist for General Features, in furnishing information about Donner, who is the individual who wrote an article in the March, 1968, issue of Playboy Magazine which tried to convince college administrators that they should not cooperate with the FBI in connection with investigations on college campuses. As you also know, our cooperation with Mowery resulted in two excellent columns by the latter which exposed Donner's left-wing connections and effectively pointed out the necessity for Bureau investigations to be conducted on college campuses.

Senator Mundt has now inserted in the "Congressional Record" of 5/28/68 these two columns of Mowery as they appeared in the Reading, Pennsylvania, Eagle of 4/28/68, and the 5/19/68 issue of the New York Knickerbocker. This will further serve to expose Donner and also points up to the general public why the FBI should be permitted to conduct investigations of any type on college campuses.

A copy of the pertinent pages of the "Congressional Record" for 5/28/68 is attached.

RECOMMENDATION

None. For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Enclosure)

letter being written to Mundt
✓ ↑ 5/29 JS

TJB

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

May 28, 1968

be run by Allied Builders Union, Inc., Sequential Computer Corp., S. J. Industries, Manpower Teaching Service and Radiation Systems. All will work with the Washington Concentrated Employment System to recruit trainees who will be paid \$1.60 an hour while they are trained.

A REPLY TO "SPIES ON CAMPUS"

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, a national magazine, in March, published an article entitled "Spies on Campus," written by Frank Donner. The article is a typical diatribe on the legitimate activities of Government investigative agencies which one comes to expect from fuzzy-thinking individuals of Donner's ilk.

Why anyone should feel that a college or university campus should be a haven for criminals, radicals, traitors, and assorted subversives I cannot understand. Yet this is exactly what Donner seems to propose. He would make our institutions of higher education open to anyone except representatives of investigative agencies. His article is the same old pap of wanting to hide all manner of evil behind the cry of academic freedom.

Pulitzer Prize winner Edward J. Mowery, in two recent articles, has exposed something of Donner's background. The facts revealed by Mr. Mowery clearly show that Donner is but another leftist who wants to pervert our cherished freedoms to his own selfish purposes.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mowery's two articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Reading (Pa.) Eagle, Apr. 28, 1968]

EDWARD J. MOWERY

NEW YORK.—Did you know that a horrendous invasion of "political privacy" is under way on our campuses? That legions of clean-cut, patriotic college students resent the slimy, on-campus harrangues of assorted Communist lecturers and cooperate in routing out the oddballs? That city, state and federal experts on subversion keep running charts on the identity and activities of neophyte collegiate Marxists?

With gallant American boys dying by the hundreds at the hands of Viet Nam Communists, most of us would salute any effort to rout Red worms from our campuses. But not a fellow named Frank Joris Donner who uses 7,000 words of pap in a national magazine to decry "campus spying" by the FBI and "Red Squads" of various law enforcement agencies.

Donner's mixed-up, cliché-peppered tome isn't easy to read. And it isn't worth too much strain. But if I "dig" his feverish trajectory, he's trying to prove a negative. There's no Communist menace, and why try to keep tabs on radical campus agitators who may sow pure treason to adolescent enrollees?

This, Donner says, clashes with that old bromide, "academic freedom" and emerges as "political" surveillance. Donner, who has modestly described himself as a "constitutional lawyer," displays a curiously inept knowledge of the mandated internal security mechanism and duties of those who enforce it.

Donner cries in his soup about infringement of "civil liberties" on campus, the existence of "right-winger" CIA and FBI informers in the student body, and the "inordinate preoccupation" of the House Un-American Activities Committee with the campus scene.

Donner shudders at the cooperation of college officials with authorities seeking to protect students "from being duped by wily Communists."

With true Hawkshaw instinct, Donner also reveals that universities such as Ohio State, Duke, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Kansas and Michigan State are collaborating with the FBI in keeping tabs on campus oddballs. Happy day! But Donner's venom targets in on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, charged with identifying individuals working against their country's best interests, tagging their objectives and nullifying their effectiveness.

The FBI offers no apologies for its zeal in protecting internal security. And certainly, subversives in professorial or collegiate garb are no less deadly than grubby Communists pursuing their intrigue in back rooms.

College officials cooperating in ridding the collegiate woodwork of radical worms? It's their duty. Americans fighting the Reds in Asia also have a stake in "academic freedom."

Who is Donner? He's a Manhattan lawyer. He was attached to the National Labor Relations Board in the early '40s, served as a top legal aid of the CIO and general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union after its expulsion from the CIO for its Communist influences.

The (defunct) Daily Worker duly noted Donner's affiliation with the National Lawyers Guild, cited by two congressional committees as a Communist front—"the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party." And when the garrulous Donner was questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his alleged CP activities in '56 and '59, he invoked the "Fifth" 33 times at one sitting.

Donner isn't important. But "radicalization" of America's campuses is a constant threat. We should be grateful that subversive hunters are moving in.

[From] the New York Knickerbocker, May 19, 1968]

"LET'S EXPOSE CAMPUS REDS NOW"—HOOVER

(NOTE.—Leaders of the long line of Red orators on U.S. campuses are such famed Communists as Herbert Aptheker, Dorothy Connelley, Gus Hall and Claude Lightfoot. According to FBI head J. Edgar Hoover, more of them appeared in New York than in any other state.)

J. EDGAR HOOVER ASKS STUDENT AID TO REJECT RED PROPAGANDA

(By Edward J. Mowery)

Did you know that horrendous invasion of "political" privacy is under way on our campuses? That legions of clean-cut, patriotic college students resent the slimy, on-campus harrangues of assorted Communist lecturers and cooperate in routing out the oddballs? That city, state and federal experts on subversion keep running charts on the identity and activities of neophyte collegiate Marxists?

With gallant American boys dying by the hundreds at the hands of Viet Nam Communists, most of us would salute any effort to rout Red worms from our campuses. But not a fellow named Frank Joris Donner, who uses 7,000 words of pap in a national magazine to decry "Campus Spying" by the FBI and "Red Squads" of various law enforcement agencies.

None are so blind

Donner's mixed-up cliché-peppered tome isn't easy to read. And it isn't worth too much strain. But if I "dig" his feverish trajectory, he's trying to prove a negative. There's no Communist menace, and why try to keep tabs on radical campus agitators who may sow pure treason among adolescent enrollees?

This, Donner says, clashes with that old bromide, "Academic Freedom," and emerges as "political" surveillance. Donner, who has modestly described himself as a "constitutional lawyer," displays a curiously inept knowledge of the mandated internal security

mechanism and duties of those who enforce it.

Donner cries in his soup about infringement of "civil liberties" on campus, the existence of "right-winger" CIA and FBI informers in the student body, and the "inordinate preoccupation" of the House Un-American Activities Committee with the campus scene.

The CIA, of course, has no internal security jurisdiction. And Donner has good reason to respect the anti-subversion thrusts of the House committee.

Donner shudders at the cooperation of college officials with Authorities seeking to protect students from being duped by wily Communists. And he observes gratuitously that, as a group, college teachers dominate the New Left "intellectual community," also known as the "bubblehead factory."

With true Hawkshaw instinct, Donner also reveals that universities such as Ohio State, Duke, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Kansas and Michigan State are collaborating with the FBI in keeping tabs on campus oddballs. Happy Day! But Donner's venom targets in on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, charged with identifying individuals working against their country's best interests, tagging their objectives and nullifying their effectiveness.

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College officials cooperating in ridding the collegiate woodwork of radical worms? It's their duty. Americans fighting the Reds in Asia also have a stake in "Academic Freedom."

A fifth amendment scalot

Who is Donner? He's a Manhattan lawyer. He was attached to the National Labor Relations Board in the early '40s, served as a top legal aid of the CIO and general counsel for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union after its expulsion from the CIO for its Communist influences.

The (defunct) Daily Worker duly noted Donner's affiliation with the National Lawyers Guild, cited by two Congressional committees as a Communist front—"The foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party." And when the garrulous Donner was questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his alleged CP activities, in '56 and '59, he invoked the "Fifth" 33 times at one sitting.

Donner has allegedly denied that he was ever a member of the Communist Party. But he helped prepare the defense of Party bigshots at New Haven, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh charged with violating the Smith Act. And, for 14 years, he has authored numerous articles and books with a single theme: Uncle Sam's efforts to expose Communism are a disguise to enforce "political" conformity of its citizens.

Equating the Marxist conspiracy with "politics" is as aged as the walls of the Kremlin. Donner isn't important. But exploding "radicalization" of America's campuses should be of vital concern to every citizen.

J. Edgar Hoover, who enjoys the burning hatred of the Red cabal, senses the gravity of the Communist campus drive to subvert youth and is taking every precaution to dull its impact.

"Suppose," the FBI chief observed, "that Communism advertised its true aim like this: 'Wanted: Young People To Help Bury America, No Prior Experience Necessary.'"

"With such an appeal, Communism would become a dusty, cobweb-covered doctrine untouched by young Americans steeped in a heritage of liberty and freedom. But the treachery of Communism does not permit such a factual recruiting poster."

"Young people in record numbers are entering college classrooms to engage in one

JUN 6 1968

ENCLOSURE

of man's most noble pursuits: The search for truth through the acquisition of knowledge. In America, this endeavor is as honored as the freedoms which make it possible. It is an undeniable fact that under Communism these freedoms do not exist."

Marxism, Hoover said, stipulates the warped "truths" its adherents must embrace and disseminate its "venomous" lies through any and all media. A primary avenue of exploiting and propagandizing the masses—the CP's "central dogmas"—is the American campus where front groups manipulate speaking "invitations" to spotlight communists.

Prominent among such front groups, Hoover explained, are the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (named in honor of a Communist). As for the noisy, militant group billed as Students For A Democratic Society, Hoover said Communists are "actively promoting and participating" in the organization, which claims 3,000 members in 100-plus "chapters" around the country. "Its members," the official continued, "condemn our involvement in Viet Nam, the American way of life and our established form of government."

This triple advocacy spells a minor form of anarchy. The coloration of Students For A Democratic Society continuously seeps through its "constitutional liberty" camouflage. Hoover recalled that 20 of 100 participants attending the group's national council meeting in '65 had "past or present affiliations with the CP or other subversive organizations."

Communists from over the nation joined the organization's march on Washington three years ago, including 70 comrades from New York City alone. Two months later, Hoover declared, among delegates to the organization's national convention (near Kewadin, Mich.) were spokesmen from virtually "every subversive group in the country."

The very vocal Reds

Whether it's the "New Left" or the "Old Left," the FBI director said grimly, the Communist emphasis is on wholesale subversion of youth. Citing the rise in Communist Party speakers on various campuses, Hoover noted that speakers mouthing the Marxist line at student assemblies averaged 50 appearances yearly from 1961 to 1965. In the 1965-66 academic year, the total zoomed to 69.

The pitch wasn't static.

"They hit hard at the United States for its role in the Viet Nam War," the official said, "especially when student assemblies were peppered with draft-age listeners. The Communists feel that our nation is witnessing a new upsurge in 'Leftist' thinking among youth which makes the Marxist message more palatable."

"And . . . they enjoy the controversy their campus appearance frequently provoke."

"An uproad enables the campus agitator to don the undesired role of a persecuted defender of free speech. Among the speakers' stock answers for questions posed by students are the bland assurance that the Communist Party, USA has no organizational ties with its counterpart in the Soviet Union, and if they ever attain power here, the free press will continue in the 'American tradition'."

These answers not infrequently trigger howls of laughter from Red-wise undergraduates. But there can be little doubt that spoon-fed poison to student crowds of up to 4,000 is leaving its mark. Hoover revealed that the Communist thrust for campus recruits was cunningly conceived and executed.

Subversion of editors

More than 700 editors of college publications, he declared, received from Communist Party Public Relations Director Arnold Johnson a copy of the Reds' "new" program

The editors were invited to comment "editorially" on the program—a soft-sell lecture in the students' own paper. Editors also were urged to make the Communist drive available at college bookstores to undergraduates writing term papers on Communism, or those debating "Communist viewpoints."

This is the Reds' brazen, new direct approach to student functionaries, hoping that a single seed will take root. Buried deeply in the note to editors was the pervading lure: The Communist Party will gladly provide "authoritative and capable" speakers for campus functions of both students and faculty members. And it would be just dandy if the college paper or campus organization would "sponsor" the speaker's appearance.

Those of "libertine" leanings—including the author of "Campus Spying"—see nothing sinister in Communists presenting their views before college groups, even though adolescent minds are being manipulated by master propagandists.

Leaning on his vast knowledge of Communism's deadly goals, Hoover commented: "We all believe in academic freedom. But this does not grant license to deliberately present distortions or falsehoods. Communists aren't obligated morally or otherwise to seek for, or tell, the truth."

"Some young people are capable of recognizing and exposing propaganda. Others are not. This is the dangerous thing, particularly when it is recognized that Communists in this country are conducting an energetic propaganda campaign to recruit youth, to reach their hearts, minds and souls."

Concerning the youth groups working under CP guidance on campuses, Hoover said:

"The true face of Communism now has another mask to wear, a disguise calculated to dupe unvarying youth. The official insignia of the Party-spawned DuBois Clubs, for instance, is a half-white, half-black circle encompassing a white hand and a black hand under a dove."

"But a look over their shoulder reveals the other hand clasp the Berlin Wall and squeezing freedom's breath from enslaved millions. It is this duplicity that is difficult for young Americans to comprehend."

"If our young citizens turn an objective, analytical searchlight on this ideology and its organizational arms, they will understand Communism for what it is—a materialistic, godless dogma dedicated to world domination."

"Gangsterous Communism is attempting to render future America a quadruple amputee—a nation without freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. Armed with the scalpel of truth, our youth can and must cut this disease from the body of America."

INDIA—ECONOMIC AID FROM US ENABLES MILITARY PURCHASES FROM SOVIETS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for years, some of us have questioned the policy of our heavy economic aid to India at the same time India continued to purchase heavily military arms from the Soviet Union.

It is no secret that at this time India is modernizing its army with Soviet equipment, and is also purchasing modern air and sea weaponry.

Apparently some of the Indians themselves question why that country should have multimillion-dollar submarines.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Indian Arms Cost Scored," published in the Baltimore Sun of May 20, be printed in the Record.

I also ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "One Billion Dollars in

Nonproject Aid to India To Be Sought," published in the Journal of Commerce of May 27, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

From the Baltimore Sun, May 20, 1968
INDIAN ARMS COST SCORED—CRITICS WANT FUNDS DEVOTED TO DEVELOPMENT
(By Adam Clymer)

NEW DELHI, May 19.—Fears that defense expenditures are crippling economic development are getting increasingly official discussion in India.

For some time this concern has been openly expressed only on the fringes of Indian politics, though it is a subject of economists' concern.

The most eloquent exponent of this fear has been Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the Kashmiri leader freed from detention in January. Arguing that subcontinental reconciliation over Kashmir would bring peace and friendship, Abdullah recently complained:

"Vast funds, which should be devoted to the progress of education, health, agriculture and social welfare in general, are now diverted by both countries towards the production of destructive weapons of warfare."

The two extremes in Parliament, the Conservative Freedom party and the left Communists, have also urged an accommodation with Pakistan in order to cut defense spending.

But Government leaders, while often expressing regret that arms were so heavy a burden, have always said it was a burden which must be borne.

A similar contention has been voiced by Canejeebuream N. Annadural, chief minister of Madras state.

NEW VOICE HEARD

But last week, Dhannanjaya R. Gadgil, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's hand-picked deputy chairman of the planning commission (as Prime Minister she is chairman), joined the chorus.

After warning that the central Government had very limited resources available for further development spending, he called on the Government "to give special attention to economy in non-plan expenditure."

"Administrative expenditure of all types must be kept down if plan outlays are to be increased," he added. "In this context, special attention may have to be paid to defense expenditure."

Gadgil did not get down to precise figures. The published Indian defense budget totals \$1,353,333,333, or about 22 per cent of the central budget.

But this figure appears to many observers to understate capital expenditures, for India has been buying submarines, jet fighter-bombers, frigates and other equipment from the Soviet Union at a considerable pace lately.

The planning commission leader warned that besides their basic budgetary costs, arms expenditures eat up the country's scarce foreign exchange.

Terms on Soviet purchases have not been announced, but it is thought a significant portion of the cost of such equipment as a submarine priced somewhere between \$50,000,000 and \$75,000,000 must be repaid in hard currency.

Gadgil also warned against the reliance on foreign expertise that accompanies defense production. He said greater efforts should be made to relate arms manufacture to existing domestic industry.

Annadural, leader of probably the most stable non-Congress party state Government in India, spoke up at the National Development Council meeting Gadgil addressed and said he thought that, without weakening

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

TO : The Director

DATE: 5-14-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 88102-88103. Senator Mondt, (R) South Dakota, stated "a national magazine, in March, published an article entitled 'Spies on Campus,' written by Frank Donner. The article is a typical diatribe on the legitimate activities of Government investigative agencies which one comes to expect from lefty-thinking individuals of Donner's ilk. . . . Pulitzer Prize winner Edward J. Mowery, in two recent articles, has exposed something of Donner's background. The facts revealed by Mr. Mowery clearly show

that Donner is but another leftist who wants to pervert our cherished freedoms to his own selfish purposes." The two articles by Mr. Mowery captioned

"Edward J. Mowery" from the Reading (Pennsylvania) Eagle of April 28, and "Let's Expose Campus Reds Now---Hoover" from the New York Knickerbocker of May 18 are set forth in the Record. Mr. Mowery pointed out that J. Edgar Hoover, who enjoys the burning hatred of the Red cabal, senses the gravity of the Communist campus drive to subvert youth and is taking every precaution to dull its impact.

REC-103

100-25688-151

NOT RECORDED

199 JUN 6 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 5-14-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

59 JUN 10 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-25688-151

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

May 21, 1968

15
rec'd
11
MR. DE LOACH;

Re: FRANK JORIS DONNER *Brent*

You will recall that Donner is the individual who wrote an article entitled "Spies on Campus" which appeared in the March, 1968, issue of "Playboy" magazine. Donner, who has a long history of left-wing activities, tried in his articles to coerce college administrators into noncooperation with the FBI and to urge that the FBI and other law enforcement agencies not be permitted to conduct investigations of any type on college campuses. *3*

With the Director's approval, some public source data on Donner, which shows his long history of Communist Party associations, was furnished by me to Edward J. Mowery, a columnist for General Features, on a confidential basis. *Thompson*

My memorandum to you of April 19, 1968, advised that Mowery had written a column for the New York Knickerbocker which was to be published on May 5, 1968, which not only "does a job" on Donner, but also gives a very strong defense for the necessity of investigations being conducted on college campuses and points up appearances on these campuses by representatives of the Communist Party. It was later learned from Mowery that this column would appear in the May 19, 1968, issue of the New York Knickerbocker instead of the May 5th issue. *Robert*

I thought the Director might like to see the enclosed copy of this column so that he will be aware of the very strong play which the paper gave to it. The article should be most effective in exposing communist activities on the campus and clearly points out the necessity for Bureau investigations to be conducted on campuses. *100-25688152*

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information. *REC-9*

Enclosure
ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enc.
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enc.
1 - Mr. Jones - Enc.
66 JUN 11 1968

TEB:pam (5) *pam*

TEB
full
Wm
CHIEF RESEARCH

X

"LET'S EXPOSE CAMPUS REDS NOW"—HOOVER



Leaders of the long line of Red orators on U.S. campuses are such famed Communists as (L to R) Herbert Aptheker, Dorothy Connelley, Gus Hall and Claude Lightfoot. According to FBI head J. Edgar Hoover, more of them appeared in New York than in any other state.

J. Edgar Hoover Asks STUDENT AID TO REJECT RED PROPAGANDA



By EDWARD J. MOWERY

Did you know that a horrendous invasion of "political" privacy is under way on our campuses? That legions of clean-cut, patriotic college students resent the slimy, on-campus harangues of assorted Communist lecturers and cooperate in rooting out the oddballs? That city, state and federal experts on subversion keep running charts on the identity and activities of neophyte collegiate Marxists?

With gallant American boys dying by the hundreds at the hands of Viet Nam Communists, most of us would salute any effort to rout Red worms from our campuses. But not a fellow named Frank Joris Donner, who uses 7,000 words of pap in a national magazine to decry "Campus Spying" by the FBI and "Red Squads" of various law enforcement agencies.

NONE ARE SO BLIND

Donner's mixed-up, cliché-peppered tome isn't easy to read. And it isn't worth too much strain. But if I "dig" his feverish trajectory, he's trying to prove a negative. There's no Communist menace, and why try to keep tabs on radical campus agitators who may sow pure treason among adolescent enrollees?

This, Donner says, clashes with that old bromide, "Academic Freedom", and emerges as "political" surveillance. Donner, who has modestly described himself as a "constitutional lawyer", displays a curiously inept knowledge of the mandated internal security mechanism and duties of those who enforce it.

Donner cries in his soup about infringement of "civil liberties" on campus, the existence of "right-winged" CIA and FBI informers in the student body, and the "inordinate preoccupation" of the House Un-American Activities Committee with the campus scene.

The CIA, of course, has no internal security jurisdiction. And Donner has good reason to respect the anti-subversion thrusts of the House committee. Donner shudders at the cooperation of college officials with Authorities seeking to protect students "from being duped by wily Communists". And he observes gratuitously that, as a group, college teachers dominate the New Left "intellectual community", also known as the "bubblehead factory".

With true Hawkshaw instinct, Donner also reveals that universities such as Ohio State, Duke, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Kansas and Michigan State are collaborating with the FBI in keeping tabs on campus oddballs. Happy Day! But Donner's venom targets in on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover charged with identifying individuals working against their country's best interests, tagging their

objectives and nullifying their effectiveness.

The FBI offers no apologies for its zeal in protecting internal security. And, certainly, subversives in professorial or collegiate garb are no less deadly than grubby Communists pursuing their intrigues in back rooms.

College officials cooperating in ridding the collegiate woodwork of radical worms? It's their duty. Americans fighting the Reds in Asia also have a stake in "Academic Freedom".

ENCLOSURE

100-25688152

A 5th AMENDMENT ZEALOT

Who is Donner? He's a Manhattan lawyer. He was attached to the National Labor Relations Board in the early '40s, served as a top legal aid of the CIO and general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union after its expulsion from the CIO for its communist influences.

The (defunct) Daily Worker duly noted Donner's affiliation with the National Lawyers Guild, cited by two Congressional committees as a Communist Front — "The foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party". And when the garrulous Donner was questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his alleged CP activities, in '56 and '59, he invoked the "Fifth" 33 times at one sitting.

Donner has allegedly denied that he was ever a member of the Communist Party. But he helped prepare the defense of Party bigshots at New Haven, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh charged with violating the Smith Act. And, for 14 years, he has authored numerous articles and books with a single theme: Uncle Sam's efforts to expose Communism are a disguise to enforce "political" conformity of its citizens.

Equating the Marxist conspiracy with "politics" is as aged as the walls of the Kremlin. Donner isn't important. But exploding "radicalization" of America's campuses should be of vital concern to every citizen.

J. Edgar Hoover, who enjoys the burning hatred of the Red cabal, senses the gravity of the Communist campus drive to subvert youth and is taking every precaution to dull its impact.

"Suppose," the FBI chief observed, "that Communism advertised its true aim like this: 'WANTED: Young People To Help Bury America. No Prior Experience Necessary.'"

"With such an appeal, Communism would become a dusty, cobweb-covered doctrine untouched by young Americans steeped in a heritage of liberty and freedom. But the treachery of Communism does not permit such a factual recruiting poster.

"Young people in record numbers are entering college classrooms to engage in one of man's most noble pursuits: The search for truth through the acquisition of knowledge. In America, this endeavor is as honored as the freedoms which make it possible. It is an undeniable fact that under Communism these freedoms do not exist."

Marxism, Hoover said, stipulates the warped "truths" its adherents must embrace and disseminates its "venomous" lies through any and all media. A primary avenue of exploiting and propagandizing the masses — the CP's "central dogmas" — is the American campus where front groups manipulate speaking "invitations" to topflight communists.

Prominent among such front groups, Hoover explained, are the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (named in honor of a Communist). As for the noisy, militant group billed as Students For A Democratic Society, Hoover said Communists are "actively promoting and participating" in the organization, which claims 3,000 members in 100-plus "chapters" around the country.

"Its members," the official continued, "condemn our involvement in Viet Nam, the American way of life and our established form of government."

This triple advocacy spells a minor form of anarchy. The coloration of Students For A Democratic Society continuously seeps through its "constitutional liberty" camouflage. Hoover recalled that 20 of 100 participants attending the group's national council meeting in '65 had "past or present affiliations with the CP or other subversive organizations."

Communists from over the nation joined the organization's march on Washington three years ago, including 70 comrades from New York City alone. Two months later, Hoover declared, among delegates to the organization's national convention (near Kewadin, Mich.) were spokesmen from virtually "every subversive group in the country".

THE VERY VOCAL REDS

Whether it's the "New Left" or the "Old Left", the FBI director said grimly, the Communist emphasis is on wholesale subversion of youth. Citing the rise in Communist Party speakers on various campuses, Hoover noted that speakers

(Continued on page 28)

J. EDGAR HOOVER (Continued from page 13)

mouth the Marxist line at student assemblies averaged 50 appearances yearly from 1961 to 1965. In the 1965-66 academic year, the total zoomed to 69.

Their pitch wasn't static.

"They hit hard at the United States for its role in the Viet Nam War," the official said, "especially when student assemblies were peppered with draft-age listeners. The Communists feel that our nation is witnessing a new upsurge in 'Leftist' thinking among youth which makes the Marxist message more palatable.

"And . . . they enjoy the controversy their campus appearances frequently provoke.

"An uproar enables the campus agitator to don the undeserved role of a persecuted defender of free speech. Among the speakers' stock answers for questions posed by students are the bland assurance that the Communist Party, USA has no organizational ties with its counterpart in the Soviet Union, and if they ever attain power here, the free press will continue in the American tradition."

These answers not infrequently trigger howls of

laughter from Red-wise undergraduates. But there can be little doubt that spoon-fed poison to student crowds of up to 4,000 is leaving its mark. Hoover revealed that the Communist thrust for campus recruits was cunningly conceived and executed.

SUBVERSION OF EDITORS

More than 700 editors of college publications, he declared, received from Communist Party Public Relations Director Arnold Johnson a copy of the Reds' "new" program. The editors were invited to comment "editorially" on the program — a soft-sell lectern in the students' own paper. Editors also were urged to make the Communist drive available at college bookstores to undergraduates writing term papers on Communism, or those debating "Communist viewpoints".

This is the Reds' brazen, new direct approach to student functionaries, hoping that a single seed will take root. Buried deeply in the note to editors was the pervading lure: The Communist Party will gladly provide authoritative and capable speakers for campus functions of both students and faculty members. And it would be just dandy if the

college paper or campus organization would "sponsor" the speaker's appearance.

Those of "libertine" leanings — including the author of "Campus Spying" — see nothing sinister in Communists presenting their views before college groups, even though adolescent minds are being manipulated by master propagandists.

Leaning on his vast knowledge of Communism's deadly goals, Hoover commented:

"We all believe in academic freedom. But this does not grant license to deliberately present distortions or falsehoods. Communists aren't obligated morally or otherwise to seek for, or tell, the truth.

"Some young people are capable of recognizing and exposing propaganda. Others are not. This is the dangerous thing, particularly when it is recognized that Communists in this country are conducting an energetic propaganda campaign to recruit youth, to reach their hearts, minds, and souls.

Concerning the youth groups working under CP guidance on campuses, Hoover said:

"The true face of Communism now has another mask to wear, a disguise calculated to dupe unwary youth. The official insignia of the Party-spawned DuBois Clubs, for instance, is a half-white, half-black circle encompassing a white hand and a black hand under a dove.

But a look over their shoulder reveals the other hand clasping the Berlin Wall and screaming 'freedom'.

It is the dumbest, most difficult for young Americans to comprehend.

"If our young citizens turn an objective, analytical eye on the propaganda and organization of the DuBois Clubs, they will understand Communism for what it is — an amoral, godless, dedicated to world domination. Gangrenous Communism is attempting to render future America a quadruple amputee — a nation without freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. Armed with the scalpel of truth, our youth can and must cut this disease from the body of America.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE JUN 17 1968	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/21 - 6/5/68
TITLE OF CASE FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY mnb
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-C	

REFERENCENY report of SA 6/16/67.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being furnished to the New Haven Division for informational purposes inasmuch as the subject resides in the territory of that Division.

A review of subject's file in the NYO does not reflect that he enjoys other than good health.

On 5/12/67, made available the May, 1967 issue of the "Community Peace Calendar" issued by the

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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COPIES MADE:

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1 - New Haven (100-14085) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
3 - New York (100-11342)

2 JUN 19 1968

COPIES DESTROYED

62 OCT 3 1973

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	<i>Rao; ch. shw.</i>
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	<i>11-5-68</i>
How Fwd.	<i>R/S</i>
By	<i>59 JUL 9 - 1968</i>

Notations

INT. SEC.

NY 100-11342

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

Philadelphia Peace Center. The calendar reflected that on 5/13/67, the New Jersey State Annual Meeting of the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom would be held in the Library Auditorium, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey, and that FRANK J. DONNER will present the main address "Ethical Irresponsibility of Congress" at 3:00 PM.

The pretext on 6/3/68, was a telephone call to the subject's office on 44th Street, NYC, by SA [redacted] under the guise of a personal friend.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

100-13644-9353

The following New York informants were contacted concerning the subject, with negative results:

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 2-61
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified Confidential because Declassified 9-16-77
(state reason)

of information furnished by NY T-1.
If the identity of this source was revealed, it could be injurious to the national defense.

7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
of his employment as an attorney and his hostility displayed before the HCUA in 1956 and 1959.

8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
subject stated on 1/22/65, that he had been a CP leader for 30 years (NYrep 6/18/65).

10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

- C* -

COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bufile 100-25688

Director

Nyfile 100-11342

JUN 17 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

United States Secret Service

Department of the Treasury

Washington, D. C. 20220

Re: Frank Joris Donner

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Enclosure(s) (1)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

b6
b7CReport of:
Date:

Office: New York, New York

JUN 17 1968

Field Office File #: 100-11342

Bureau File #: 100-25688

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNOR

Character: SECURITY MATTER-C

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is self-employed as an attorney at 36 West 44th Street, NYC. Subject is also an attorney for and maintains an office at the UERMWA, 11 East 51st Street, NYC. Subject received checks from the UERMWA 1967 and 1968. Certain NY informants negative.

- C -

DETAILSI. BACKGROUNDResidence and Employment

A pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 3, 1968, ascertained that the subject resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut, and is self-employed as an attorney in Room 311, 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Declassified by
2333 saf: g
9-19-77APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

DATE

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NY 100-11342

The pretext further ascertained that the subject is an attorney for and maintains an office at the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), 11 East 51st Street, New York City.

A characterization of the UERMWA is contained in the Appendix.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE
COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MOVEMENT

On October 11, 1967, NY T-1 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

The above information and subsequent information set forth herein from NY T-1 is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The person to be subpoenaed is: [REDACTED]

NY T-1 no longer has custody of [REDACTED]

On December 12, 1967, NY T-1 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On February 13, 1968, NY T-1 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

On March 12, 1968, NY T-1 made available information which reflected that [REDACTED]

NY 100-11342

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Certain New York informants who are acquainted with various phases of CP activity in the New York area advised in May and June, 1968, that the subject is not known to them or that they are not acquainted with his current activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX1.UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The "UE Shop Steward Guide," United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication #212, 6th Edition, 1952, discloses on pages 32-34, "UE-the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was established in 1936, at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time, the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

"The UE is known as an 'International Union' because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract."

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information: In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "Communist leadership....strongly entrenched." The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the Unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its Communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America".

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 17, 1967, edition of "UE News", official organ of UE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bufile 100-25688
NYfile 100-11342

JUN 17 1968

Title Frank Joris Donner

Character Security Matter-C

b6
b7C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent
 dated and captioned as above, at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

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62 OCT 15 1973

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ARTICLE "THANK YOU, DIRECTOR"
BY FRANK DONNER IN 10-27-69, ISSUE
OF "THE NATION"

DATE: October 28, 1969

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned article appears on pages 448-50 of "The Nation." Under the guise of a review of Mr. Hoover's new book on communism, Donner delivers a bitter attack against the Director and the FBI. He accuses Mr. Hoover of creating "myths" about the threat of communism and of being more concerned about subversion than a rising crime rate and violence. Mr. Hoover is alleged by Donner of having acquired intelligence functions "without authorization either by a statute or Executive order" and of making the FBI into a "political police force." Donner is critical of Mr. Hoover's Testimony before Congressional Appropriations Committees, and other "official pronouncements" through which the public is informed of dangers to our national security. Donner also discusses very favorably "False Witness" by Melvin Rader, a University of Washington professor once identified as a communist.

FRANK J. DONNER:

Donner is on the Security Index and has been active in communist activities. He wrote an article "Spies on Campus" for the 3-68 issue of "Playboy" magazine in which he advised colleges not to permit the FBI to conduct investigations on campuses. Melvin Rader, mentioned in Donner's current article, was the subject of a Security Matter investigation in the early 1940's on the basis of his association with Communist Party activities.

OBSERVATIONS:

This article is the type of vicious attack which can be expected of Donner and a publication such as "The Nation."

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - M. A. Jones

JVA:jyc/clw (6)

58 NOV 25 1969

ENCLOSURE

CRIME RESEARCH

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-150324-1895

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-131719)

7/29/69

SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-20064) (RUC)

C. 51
JERRY CLYDE RUBIN
SM-C (KEY ACTIVIST)
OO: NEW YORK

Re: New York airtel to Bureau, 6/3/69.

On 6/23/69, [redacted] Office of the Security Director, Southern New England Telephone Company, (SNETCO), 227 Church Street, New Haven, Conn. (conceal identity per request), advised IC [redacted] that Norwalk, Conn., telephone # 838-3712, set out in reairtel has been listed since 6/2/59 to the residence of one FRANK DONNER at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek, South Norwalk, Conn. Further that he is shown as self employed as an attorney in New York, N. Y.

b6
b7C
b7D

For the information of the Bureau and New York, FRANK DONNER listed above is identical with FRANK JORIS DONNER, New York in referred to its case entitled, "FRANK JORIS DONNER, SM-C", CO: New York, New York file 100-11342, Bufile 100-25688.

No further investigation being conducted by New Haven.

3 - Bureau (2 - 105-131719)
(1 - 100-25688)
3 - New York (2 - 100-157173)
(1 - 100-11342)
2 - New Haven (1 - 100-20064)
(1 - 100-14065)

JLS/moj
(8)

REGISTERED MAIL

100-25688-
NOT RECORDED
197 AUG 1 1969

249
AUG 11 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-131719-260

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE APR 1 1971	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/29/70; 2/9-10/71; 3/16-17/71
TITLE OF CASE FRANK JORIS DONNER		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS	TYPED BY lab
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C	

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/17/68.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

A copy of this report is furnished for New Haven for information, as subject resides in Connecticut.

No information is available which would indicate subject is not in normal health.

Occupancy of Room 311, 36 West 44th St., NYC by

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE.

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1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
3 - New York (100-11342)

100-25688-155 REC-11

3 APR 2 1971

EX-103

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	RAO(ESD) SS			
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	4/20/71			
How Fwd.				
By	LAC/WB			

Notations

57 APR 21 1971

COVER PAGE

NY 100-11342

ADMINISTRATIVE (cont'd)

subject was established by observation of the premises by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS.

Maintenance of an office by subject within the office space of UERMWA was established by pretext call there by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS to an employee there who was indicated as his secretary.

The anonymous source of the Detroit Office furnished a letter and enclosure which were forwarded to the NYO by Detroit letter dated 12/19/70, captioned "National Lawyers Guild - IS-C", the information being set out in LHM dated 12/24/70, copies being forwarded to Bureau by cover letter of same date.

Identities of SAS who observed rally on 4/15/70, are found in NY 100-168948.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

NY 100-11342-627

[redacted]
South Norwalk, Conn.

NY T-2

NY 100-11342-627

[redacted]
South Norwalk, Conn.
An established neighborhood
source (By Request)

NY T-3

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

NY 100-11342

INFORMANTS (cont'd)

Identity of Source

NY T-4

NY T-5

File Number Where Located

b7D

(INV)

NY 100-11342

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index ☐ Reserve Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
3. ☐ The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card ☐ A ☐ B ☐ are current ☐ have been changed.
4. ☐ Changes on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are necessary and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
5. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 2/61
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified "Confidential" *Declassified 9-19-77* because (state reason) it utilizes sources who have furnished information which if disclosed to unauthorized persons, might disclose their identities and impair their value, thus compromising the national defense.
8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) is an attorney who has expressed his own notion of civil rights, has condemned the FBI, and has undertaken a survey of "surveillance practices".
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
10. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) he has been reported as having said on 1/22/65 that he has been a CP leader for 30 years. He has supported by his participation activities of CP front groups such as National Lawyers Guild and Center For Marxist Education.
11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☐ Priority I ☐ Priority II ☒ Priority III.
☒ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons) he has associated with CP front groups and holds a sensitive position in an important union.

- D* -

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: JOSEPH V. WATERS

Office: New York, New York

Date: APR 1 1971

Field Office File #: 100-11342

Bureau File #: 100-25688

Title: FRANK JORIS DONNER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF DECLASSIFICATION
DATE 9-26-77 GAT/REC

Synopsis: FRANK J. DONNER resides at 30 Dock Rd., Village Creek, South Norwalk, Connecticut. He maintains an office for the practice of law at 36 West 44th St., NYC, and serves as General Counsel for UERMWA, 11 East 51st St., NYC where he is also located. He was advertised in "Daily World" as participant in discussion at Center for Marxist Studies on 11/13/70. Letter of NLG, 11/1/70, signed by subject, announced his engagement in a project on political surveillance. At rally held 2/27/70, on theme "Antiwar Perspectives - Spring, 1970", he spoke on trade unions helping to stop war. He also spoke at rally held 4/15/70, at UN, criticizing American involvement in Vietnam.

- C -

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence

FRANK DONNER resides at 30 Dock Road, Village Creek,

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-11342

South Norwalk, Connecticut.

NY T-1

NY T-2

February 9, 1971

B. Employment

Observation by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), of the office building premises, the Bar Building at 36 West 44th Street, New York City (NYC), on March 17, 1971, established that FRANK J. DONNER maintains his law office in Room 311 at that address.

A telephone call, under pretext, was made on March 18, 1971, to the office of the United Electrical, Radio, And Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), 11 East 51st Street, NYC. In the course of this conversation, it was established that FRANK DONNER is the General Counsel of the UERMWA. A person indicated to be a secretary of DONNER stated that he maintains an office at those premises.

A characterization of UERMWA is set forth in the appendix of this report.

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The "Daily World", November 10, 1970, on page two, published an advertisement of Center For Marxist Education which scheduled a discussion of "Law And Law And Order". FRANK DONNER was scheduled to engage in this discussion on November 13, 1970.

A characterization of Center For Marxist Education is set forth in the appendix of this report.

The "Daily World" is an east coast communist newspaper.

NY 100-11342

On December 15, 1970, the Detroit Office of the FBI received from an anonymous source by mail, a letter dated November 1, 1970, prepared on the official stationery of the National Lawyers Guild. This letter was addressed "Dear Guild Member", and was signed by FRANK J. DONNER and DORIS BRIN WALKER.

This letter informed that DONNER, described as a member of the Guild, was engaged in a project, funded by a foundation, to investigate political surveillance, under sponsorship of the American Civil Liberties Union. The aim of this project was said to be the publication of an opinion-forming series of facts for "corrective litigation". Therefore, it was said that the initial phase of the project was to be a publication on such surveillance in late Spring, 1971.

This letter informed that the location of the project was Room 235, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut.

Enclosed with the letter was a seven page questionnaire, the text of which aimed at prompting information pertaining to alleged political surveillance practices.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is set forth in the appendix of this report.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

A leaflet entitled "An Emergency Call", indicated to have been published by the "Emergency Conference To Defend The Right of the Black Panther Party To Exist", listed FRANK J. DONNER as one of its initiating sponsors.

A characterization of The Black Panther Party is set forth in the appendix of this report.

NY 100-11342

The above mentioned Call Conference in its text, conveyed the allegation that there was little question in the minds of most persons that there is a national plan to destroy the Black Panther Party, and such repression must be stopped.

The Emergency Conference was said to be scheduled for March 7th and 8th, 1970 at the Church of the Epiphany, 201 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.'

NY T-5

February 16, 1970

A. Students For a Democratic Society (SDS)

A meeting of the New York University chapter of the SDS, met on February 7, 1969 at the University Theater, West 4th Street, NYC.

FRANK J. DONNER furnished this meeting with background information on the House of Representatives Committee On Un-American Activities, and he described its successor Committee On Internal Security. DONNER suggested that the students pay more attention to political maneuvering, especially that taking place in Congress.

He also asserted that the FBI had attempted to infiltrate the SDS but did not offer any specific information in this regard.

NY T-3

February 20, 1969

A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the appendix of this report.

NY 100-11342

B. Veterans For Peace In Vietnam (VFPIVN)

"The Village Voice", February 26, 1970, page 25, published an advertisement reading in part, "Veterans For Peace present - Antiwar Perspectives, Spring, 1970 - evening of words and pictures against the war" on February 27, 1970, at Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th Street, NYC.

Among a group denominated Trade Unionists was listed as speaker FRANK DONNER, General Counsel, United Electrical Workers.

The sponsor of this activity was listed as VFPIVN, 874 Broadway, NYC.

A source has reported that the rally advertised, as noted above, was held on that date and the first speaker of the evening was FRANK DONNER, who spoke on what trade unions could do to help stop the war and bring the troops home so that taxes could be utilized for better housing.

DONNER castigated unions that were supporting the Nixon Administration. He called on such unions to support the VFPIVN in their campaign to bring peace to Vietnam, Laos, and the Middle East.

NY T-4

February 27, 1970

C. Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee

Vietnam Moratorium Committee

On April 15, 1970, Special Agents of the FBI observed a rally at Hammerskjold Plaza, United Nations Plaza, New York, co-sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and Vietnam Moratorium Committee. One of the speakers on this occasion was FRANK DONNER, described

NY 100-11342

as General Counsel, United Electrical Workers. He, as well as other speakers, criticized American involvement in Vietnam.'

NY 100-11342

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Also Known As

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (cont'd)

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is... by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the United States of America.

NY 100 11342

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APPENDIX

CENTER FOR MARXIST EDUCATION

The Communist Party (CP) of New York State established the Center for Marxist Education (CME) in October of 1969 in New York City. Its purpose is to provide a curriculum of courses, forums, socials, and cultural events that will bring the theory of Marxism-Leninism to CP members, as well as the public, who they hope to attract to the CP.

The CME is located at 29 West 15th Street, Fourth Floor, New York, New York.

The above information was furnished by a source on May 12, 1970.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The Committee on Un-American Activities, House report 3123, September 21, 1950, cites the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

A confidential source advised during April, 1969, that the President of the NLG stated at a NLG banquet held in New York City on April 12, 1969, that the NLG has organized young people to work in a radical movement which is seeking to destroy a corrupt, violent society.

A second source advised on April 17, 1969, that the President of the New York Chapter of the NLG spoke at above banquet stating that the purpose of the NLG is to advance the "social revolution" taking place in this country. In furtherance of this purpose, the NLG has established Student Guild Chapters and given counsel to draft resisters and military personnel seeking peace.

A third source furnished information on October 20, 1969, that the NLG is going through a change which is evidenced by dissension between the young and old members of the guild.

Mrs. [REDACTED], Hanford and Henderson Corporation, 71 Murray Street, New York City, advised on May 20, 1970, that the NLG currently occupies the 9th floor at 1 Hudson Street, New York, New York, with a lease effective until April, 1974.

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APPENDIX
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYMII) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticommunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, problack nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

A characterization of the SDS is set out separately.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968 - 1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

2.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (cont'd)

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

Characterizations of Weatherman, WSA and RYM are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The "UE Shop Steward Guide", United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) Publication #212, 6th Edition, 1952, discloses on Pages 32-34, "UE - The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was established in 1936 at a convention in Buffalo, New York. At that time, the organization was called the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. Shortly thereafter, a large group of American Federation of Labor Machinists' locals joined the UE and the full name became the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE).

The UE is known as an "International Union" because companies of both the United States and Canada are under contract.

"100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor", prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1951, relates the following information:

In 1944, the Committee on Un-American Activities found the "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)" to be one of the unions which was described as having "Communist leadership...strongly entrenched". The "United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America" was listed as one of the Unions which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because of its Communist domination.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate", on Page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America".

The International Headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 22, 1968, edition of "UE News", official organ of UE.

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APPENDIX

WEATHERMAN

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" ("New Left Notes" June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and CASTRO's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300 - 350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 percent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

A characterization of the SDS is set out separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1.APPENDIXWORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NC.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers' struggle."

Characterizations of the SDS
and PLP are set out separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York 10021

APR 1 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile - 100-25688

NYfile - 100-11342

Title Frank Joris Donner

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to report of Special Agent
Joseph V. Waters, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Brennan
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. Deakin

DATE: 4/20/71

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FROM : R. D. Cotter

SUBJECT: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER

SYNOPSIS:

CARRIED IN

"New York Review of Books," 4/22/71, carries article by Frank Donner entitled "The Theory and Practice of American Political Intelligence." Director noted "What do we know of Donner?" and "Examine carefully." My memorandum 4/16/71 noted Donner's background as attorney for several Communist Party functionaries in Smith Act trials and his remarks to a source that he has been a Communist Party member for 30 years.

Donner has written other articles critical of the FBI for magazines such as "Playboy" and "The Nation." This 11-page article is a tissue of half-truths, undocumented assertions, and outright fabrications. Donner attacks Bureau in numerous instances in his unsuccessful effort to build a case for "the elimination of the evils of political surveillance... another reason why we need a new politics." Donner's allegations against the FBI are answered item by item in the details; typical of his arguments is his statement that "pressures" are exerted against subjects by intelligence officers, such as J. Edgar Hoover's "attacks on white contributors to Black Panther defense funds." In fact, the Director's only listing of contributors to the Black Panther Party is contained in the March 5, 1970, Appropriations Testimony which lists both white and Negro contributors, but does not identify them by race.

ACTION:

For the Director's information. The specious nature of this article does not justify any response.

TJD:amt
(5)

15 APR 27 1971

CONTINUED - OVER
SEE DETAILS PAGE TWO

MAY 27 1971
57 JUN 1 1971

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNREC COPY FILED IN 100-25687-156

Memo to Mr. Brennan
RE: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER

DETAILS:

The Author

Frank Joris ²Donner is a New York City attorney who has served as counsel for a number of Communist Party functionaries tried for violations of the Smith Act of 1940. He appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956 and 1959, and invoked Constitutional privilege when asked about his Communist Party affiliation. Donner has been associated with communist-front groups over the years; in 1965 a confidential source advised that Donner remarked he has been a Communist Party member for 30 years. Donner has written other articles critical of the FBI which appeared in magazines such as "Playboy" and "The Nation." He is the author of "The Un-Americans," a book attacking the FBI's use of informants, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Informants

The main thrust of Donner's article is a diatribe against the use of informants in security investigations. Specifically, Donner alleges that an FBI source furnished information on stockpiling of weapons by Chicago Black Panthers which led to the raid in which Panther leader Fred Hampton was killed. Donner notes "only a few guns were found." The FBI did furnish information to Chicago Police on the stockpiling of weapons and the "few guns" found in Hampton's apartment included 19 shotguns, one carbine, one .22 caliber rifle, six handguns, and 2,000 rounds of ammunition.

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CONTINUED - OVER

Memo to Mr. Brennan
RE: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER

Donner claims he interviewed an FBI Agent, whom he does not name, and writes that the number of "informers" an FBI Agent can recruit is limited only by the Agent's budget for this purpose. Since the Bureau limits the number of informants by the need for coverage and Agents do not have "budgets," it is obvious Donner is merely claiming to have interviewed an Agent.

Jurisdiction

Donner alleges that the FBI has 2,000 Agents on "political investigative assignments." This is typical of Donner's writing as the Bureau, of course, does not have any Agents assigned to "political" investigations. Donner also claims that the FBI does not have jurisdiction to engage in political intelligence activities and he finally indicates he is describing the internal security field where the Bureau does, by statute, have responsibility for the gathering and coordination of information affecting the internal security of the United States.

Relations With Other Agencies

As a footnote in discussing the FBI's role in coordinating intelligence, Donner alleges that the Agitator Index is made available to local agencies. In fact, the Agitator Index is an internal document of the Bureau which is never furnished to outside agencies.

Donner also alleges that local and national intelligence agencies are beginning to "coalesce" into an "intelligence community." He then faults the FBI for its lawful role of coordinating intelligence information relating to the internal security of the U. S.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memo to Mr. Brennan
RE: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER

Wiretaps

In a footnote concerning Attorney General Mitchell's position on wiretapping in national security cases, Donner claims that wiretapping was used even before the present Attorney General in cases not "remotely linked" to national security. He cites as examples the cases of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Elijah Muhammad. Donner chooses to ignore the fact that Elijah Muhammad heads the 5,000-member fanatical Nation of Islam, a group which advocates blacks forming a new government in several southern states. Donner also ignores information about Martin Luther King's involvement with Communist Party members that became public knowledge in his claim that wiretapping of King did not involve the national security.

Basis for Article

Donner claims this article is a "distillation of verified materials, many of them documentary," but cites few documents other than those publicized as having been taken in the burglary of the Media, Resident Agency. Donner claims his article includes information from court proceedings, legislative hearings, interviews, "TV scripts," "graduate theses," and responses to a "detailed questionnaire," concerning what and by whom he does not bother to say. His use of footnotes to give examples, but seldom to document, is an unsuccessful attempt to make this appear a scholarly article rather than a baseless attack that does not deserve any response on the part of the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan *CB*

DATE: 4/16/71

FROM : R. D. Cotter *RC*

SUBJECT: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER REGARDING FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan *CB* _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

m3 "The New York Review of Books" issue of 4/22/71 carries a lengthy article captioned as above. This article, according to the author, is a distillation of verified materials, many of them documentary, drawn from the files of the American Civil Liberties Union political surveillance project and based on numerous sources including court proceedings, reports by informers and police agents, interviews and correspondence with subjects, the files of lawyers and civil liberties groups, and the responses to a detailed questionnaire.

The Director noted "What do we know of Donner?" and "Examine carefully."

Frank Joris Donner is an attorney who maintains his own office in New York City and also serves as General Counsel for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America in that city. He was born 2/25/11 in Brooklyn, New York.

Donner has been associated with numerous communist front organizations over the years and has served as the attorney for a number of Communist Party functionaries who were tried for violations of the Smith Act of 1940. In 1956 and 1959, he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and invoked his constitutional privilege when queried as to his Communist Party affiliations. In 1965 a confidential source advised that Donner remarked he has been a Communist Party member for 30 years.

Donner has written articles critical of the FBI in such magazines as "The Nation," and "Playboy," and some years ago wrote a book entitled "The Un-Americans" which bitterly attacks the FBI, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the use of informants. Donner is on the Security Index.

Enclosure sent 4-23-71
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Brennan
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mrs. J. A. Whalen

CONTINUED - OVER

51 MAY 1971
ALLW/mea (5)

REC 93 100 - 25688-157
3 APR 27 1971

Memorandum for Mr. Brennan
RE: "THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER REGARDING FBI

In response to the Director's request to examine the article carefully, Research Section has an in-depth study of this article underway and will complete as expeditiously as possible. However, due to the many references to the FBI and additional statements regarding surveillances in which the Bureau would be interested, it is anticipated that this project will require several days to complete.

ACTION:

In response to the Director's inquiry. Immediately on completion of our analysis of the article, a further memorandum will be prepared.

Attached is a suggested letter to the Attorney General, The Deputy Attorney General, and the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, advising them of the background of Frank Donner.

WCB

OK
D

WCB

WCB

A

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Brennan
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. L. L. Whalen
April 19, 1971

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

**"THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE"
ARTICLE BY FRANK DONNER**

"The New York Review of Books" issue of April 22, 1971, carries a lengthy article captioned as above. This article, according to the author, is a distillation of verified materials, many of them documentary, drawn from the files of the American Civil Liberties Union political surveillance project and based on numerous sources including court proceedings, reports by informers and police agents, interviews and correspondence with subjects, the files of lawyers and civil liberties groups, and the responses to a detailed questionnaire.

Frank Frank Joris Donner is an attorney who maintains his own office in New York City and also serves as General Counsel for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America in that city. He was born February 25, 1911, in Brooklyn, New York.

Donner has been associated with numerous communist front organizations over the years and has served as the attorney for a number of Communist Party, USA, functionaries who were tried for violations of the Smith Act of 1940. In 1956 and 1959, he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and invoked his constitutional privilege when queried as to his Communist Party affiliations. In 1965 a confidential source advised that Donner remarked he has been a Communist Party, USA, member for 30 years.

Donner has written articles critical of the FBI in such magazines as "The Nation," and "Playboy," and some years ago wrote a book entitled "The Un-Americans" which bitterly attacked the FBI, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the use of informants.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General
1 - Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

LLW:ekn/pea
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

The Attorney General

NOTE:

See memorandum R. D. Cotter to Mr. C. D. Brennan, dated 4/16/71, captioned "The Theory and Practice of American Political Intelligence," Article by Frank Donner," prepared by LLW:mea.

Frank Donner: Spying for the FBI

Mr. Tolson	/
Mr. Sullivan	/
Mr. Mohr	/
Mr. Bishop	/
Mr. Brennan	/
Mr. Callahan	/
Mr. Casper	/
Mr. Conrad	/
Mr. Dalbey	/
Mr. Felt	/
Mr. Gale	/
Mr. Rosen	/
Mr. Tavel	/
Mr. Walters	/
Mr. Soyars	/
Tele. Room	/
Miss Holmes	/
Miss Gandy	/

CRK

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT The Theory and Practice of American Political Intelligence

Frank Donner

I
The twentieth century has been marked by a succession of different forms of restraint on political expression: criminal anarchy statutes, sedition laws, deportations, Congressional anti-subversive probes, loyalty oaths, enforced registration. These and related measures still survive. But in recent years new, more formidable ways of responding to political and social movements on the left have emerged. The most important of these is the system of political intelligence, which is rapidly coalescing into a national network.

The term "intelligence" as used in this article is adapted from foreign intelligence usage and practice. It describes a body of techniques for collecting political information about a "subject" (physical surveillance, photography, electronic eavesdropping, informers—planted or recruited "in place"—and other deceptive or clandestine practices), the product of these activities (files and dossiers), and a set of political assumptions (the intelligence mind).

Mr. Left

1. Examine carefully
2. What do we know of Donner?

EX-103

REC-40

ENCLOSURE

100-25688-158

"THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS"

New York, New York

April 22, 1971

Page 27

MAY 4 1971

*Memo Call to O'Hanlon
4/18/71
LLW/PCA*

*let to AG
4-19-71
LLW:etw/PCA*

Despite the efforts of intelligence officials to keep intelligence operations secret, reliable information about our intelligence system is steadily accumulating. We now have a clearer picture of the methods and targets of political surveillance. As a result, we can no longer seriously doubt that the main purpose of such activity is political control of dissent or that the frequently advanced justifications of law enforcement or national security are often no more than a "cover."

On March 21, 1971, a group calling itself the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI mailed or delivered to a congressman and senator as well as to the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times* a packet containing fourteen documents, selected from over 1,000 stolen from a small FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia. The fourteen documents, all of them of recent date and undisputed authenticity, show that the FBI concentrates much of its investigative effort on college dissenters and black student groups. According to a memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover, such groups "pose a definite threat to the Nation's stability and security," a conclusion that he has not been able to support and that both the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* have challenged.

When conducting surveillance of a Swarthmore College philosophy professor regarded as a "radical," the FBI enlisted the assistance of the local police and postmaster, as well as a campus security officer and switchboard operator. In one of the documents, the FBI agent in charge of the Philadelphia bureau instructs his agents at Media that more interviews are

in order... for plenty of reasons, chief of which are it will enhance the paranoia endemic in

these circles and will further serve to get the point across that there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox. In addition, some will be overcome by the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agent and will volunteer to tell all—perhaps on a continuing basis.

Dramatic disclosures of this sort as well as the recent Senate hearings on Army intelligence will undoubtedly help to cure the surviving skepticism about these practices. Until fairly recently even the targets of surveillance were reluctant to credit the existence of police activities which violate the most deeply held premises of their society. But political surveillance has become so obtrusive and its targets so numerous that it can no longer be easily ignored or justified. A sharper awareness of intelligence has, in turn, opened up new sources of data about a field which I have been researching since the McCarthy era.

²This article is a distillation of verified materials, many of them documentary, drawn from the files of the ACLU political surveillance project and based on the following sources: court proceedings; legislative and administrative hearings; reports by informers and police agents to intelligence units; intelligence evaluations and summaries by intelligence staff and command personnel; interviews and correspondence with subjects, informers, and intelligence officers; the files of lawyers and civil liberties groups; TV scripts, police journals and manuals; graduate theses, newspaper and magazine articles; and the responses to a detailed questionnaire.

Of course, dossiers, informers, and infiltrators are hardly new. But since the early Sixties, when attorneys general in the South formed a rudimentary intelligence network in order to curb the integrationist activities of students, political surveillance and associated practices have spread throughout the nation.

Surveillance has expanded largely because of the scale and militance of the protest movements that erupted in the Sixties. Policy makers and officers of intelligence agencies were then faced with the need to identify and control new actors on a new political stage—no easy matter in view of the anarchic radical milieu, characterized by highly mobile and anonymous young people, who tend to be hostile to formal organization and leadership. The social remoteness of new radicals concentrated in "tribal," self-contained groups made it all the more difficult to identify them.

Most of the existing intelligence agencies at that time were no more effective than other institutions in our society. Their techniques were as outmoded as their notions of subversion dominated by an old Left composed of "Communists," "fellow travelers," and "fronts." Intelligence files were choked with millions of dossiers of aging or dead radicals. At the same time, new gadgetry—miniaturization, audio-electronics, infrared lens cameras, computers, and data banks—gave intelligence possibilities undreamed of by the most zealous practitioners of the repressive arts of the nineteenth century.

According to the herald of the "technetronic" society, Zbigniew

Brzezinski, new developments in technology will make it "possible to assert almost continuous surveillance over every citizen and maintain up-to-date files containing even personal information about the behavior of the citizen, in addition to the more customary data." Full access to critical data, he adds, will give the undercover agent and the roving political spy greater flexibility in planning and executing countermeasures.

Twenty federal agencies are engaged in intelligence activities. The most important are:

- the FBI, with an estimated 2,000 agents on political investigative assignments in charge of thousands of undercover informers,

- the Army, which concededly had at one time 1,200 agents in the field, together with a huge staff operating a dossier bank of 25 million "personalities,"

- the CIA;

- the Internal Revenue Service (for several weeks in 1970 its agents requested access to the circulation records of public libraries in a number of cities in order to learn the names of borrowers of books on explosives and other "militant and subversive" subjects, a practice which it defended as "just a continual building of information");

- the Intelligence Division of the Post Office,

- the Secret Service (where names of 50,000 "persons of interest" are on file),

- the Customs Bureau of the Treasury Department,

- the Civil Service Commission (15 million names of "subversive activity" suspects),

- the Immigration and Naturalization Service,

- the Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard,

- the Passport Division of the State Department,

- the Department of Justice Community Relations Service which feeds information into its computerized Inter-Divisional Intelligence and Information Unit.

- civil rights and poverty projects sponsored by the Department of

³To hasten the arrival of this brave new world, federal funds allocated by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration are being channeled to state and local police units to subsidize such surveillance gear as twenty-four hour infrared lens closed circuit TV cameras which are being attached to telephone poles on the streets of American cities. Sensors and other electronic gadgetry developed for the military in Indochina are being adapted for internal intelligence use and tested on an experimental basis in a number of cities.

⁴It was on the basis of information supplied by this unit that Attorney General Mitchell was informed in a

confidential memorandum that the likelihood of violence during the November, 1969, moratorium was "extremely high... beyond the violence which was witnessed during the Pentagon demonstration in October, 1967, the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in August, 1968, and the demonstration in Chicago on October 11th conducted by the Students for a Democratic Society." This prophecy turned out to be unfounded.

Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Executive Department agencies cooperate with and are supplemented by the Congressional anti-subversive committees.

Intelligence operations are also flourishing in states and counties. A typical state intelligence agency is the Massachusetts Division of Subversive Activities which conducts investigations in response to complaints by private citizens and acts as a central repository for information about subversion. The Division's Annual Report for 1969 is revealing:

A file is kept of peace groups, civil rightists and other such groups where, due to their enthusiasm, they might have a tendency to adopt or show a policy of advocating the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution. These files are kept up-dated by communications with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the House Internal Security Committee, Subversive Activities units in other states and decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

The files in this Division have grown to such an extent that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Immigration and Naturalization

Service, Department of Defense, U.S. Army Intelligence, Federal Civil Service Commission, Treasury Department, several departments of the Commonwealth, Industrial Plants and Educational Institutions now clear with this Division on security checks.

Requests for investigations, or assistance in investigations, received from various police departments, Federal Bureau of Investigation, House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Subversive Activities Control Board, complied with such requests [sic].

Members of the Division attended demonstrations conducted in the area by various groups. Note was made of the leaders and organizations participating, occasionally photographs are taken, the persons identified, and a file was made.

The Division is continuing to compile and tabulate check on

new organizations in the Civil Rights area so as to be sure of any inclinations toward communist-front activities or the infiltration into these organizations of known communists or communist sympathizers.

During the past year, as a result of the increased activity of the Communist and Subversive Groups in racial demonstrations throughout the country, this Division has kept a watch on these developments so as to note any trend toward that end in Massachusetts.

During the past year, this Division continued to submit information relative to subversive organizations and individuals to several local police departments who are in the process, or have started, Intelligence Units within their respective departments.

Sometimes state intelligence agencies operate under concealed or obscure auspices. For example, the Ohio Highway Patrol runs an intelligence unit which claims to have recruited student informers on every campus in the state. According to the head of the unit, "We have actually had informers who are members of the board of trustees [sic] of various dissident groups." State intelligence units are also at work in several universities in Maryland and Illinois.

Urban intelligence units ("red squads") have multiplied greatly and are becoming a standard tool in local police practice. Increasingly powerful, they operate under a variety of names (Anti-Subversive Squad, Intelligence Unit, Civil Disobedience Unit); in some cases they use a "Human Relations" or "Community Relations" cover, which is considered an efficient means of penetrating the ghetto.⁵

Black communities swarm with urban intelligence agents and informers, as do university and peace groups; invitations to young people to defect or to sell information at high prices are becoming routine. Young college graduates—black and white—are offered "career opportunities" in urban intelligence; courses in intelligence and surveillance are being taught to municipal police units and campus security police.⁶

⁵Police departments have in recent years been loaded with recommendations from commissions and professional groups to develop intelligence techniques as a means of curbing crime—especially organized crime. But the intelligence units which have come into being as a result have been converted into instruments for political surveillance—especially of the ghetto.

The day and night surveillance of blacks, as a group, by these newly constituted units is considered self-justifying, very much like the surveillance of aliens in the Twenties. This is true even of small and medium-sized cities, which are rife with mounting crime and corruption, but proud of their "mod squads" and the increasing number of intelligence "inputs" to the ghetto, the "long-hair" community, and the campus.

As for the large cities, there are, according to Illinois Police Superintendent James T. McGuire, more police in the Chicago area on political intelligence assignments than are engaged in fighting organized crime. The same is true in Philadelphia.

⁶The campus has become the theater of intensive intelligence activities by undercover urban police agents and paid informers. A recent investigation by the Committee on Academic Freedom of the University of California, Los Angeles Division, Academic Senate, concludes that "there are undercover activities by governmental agencies on campus, that some of these activities are conducted by operatives of the Los Angeles Police Department and that it is unclear what other agencies, if any, are involved."

In fact, the campus constabulary is spreading throughout the country's higher education community. Its functions are expanding to include clandestine intelligence activities such as undercover work and wiretapping and are meshed with the work of other intelligence agencies. We get a glimpse of this new collaboration in one of the recent Media documents, dated November 13, 1970.

On 11/12/70 MR. HENRY PEIRSOL, Security Officer, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. advised that DANIEL BENNETT is a Professor of Philosophy at that School and in charge of the Philosophy Department. He has been there about three years having previously taught at University of Mass. MRS. BENNETT is not employed and there are two small children in the family ages about 8 to 12 years.

The BENNETTs reside in a semi-detached house located near PEIRSOL's residence although he does not have any social contact with them. PEIRSOL has noted that there does not appear to be anyone other than the BENNETTs residing at their home but that numerous college students visit there frequently. BENNETT drives a two tone blue VW station wagon bearing Penna. license SV0245. There are no other cars in the family and no other cars normally parked in their driveway.

PEIRSOL was furnished with the wanted flyers on the subjects and he stated he would remain alert in his neighborhood for their possible appearance. Also he will alert his sources at the college for any information about the subjects particularly any information that subjects might be in contact with the BENNETTs.

(Those who are familiar with the quality of FBI reporting will not be surprised to learn that some of this report is not true. As Professor Bennett has pointed out, he is unacquainted with the subject of the "wanted flyers," has one child not two, and owns two cars not one.)

Many of the red squads run by city police are growing so fast that they are hard put to find enough agents. The permanent intelligence staffs are frequently augmented by detectives and plainclothesmen—as Chicago's regular intelligence unit was doubled for the SDS convention in 1969. There are also many informer, recruits and trainees who report to intelligence units but are not counted as employees or officers. The official membership of Detroit's intelligence unit, which was formed in 1961, grew by 1968 to seventy members. In 1968, Boston had forty agents, New York had at least sixty-eight on its intelligence staff (ninety as of 1970) and fifty-five more line agents planted undercover. Chicago had more than 500, Houston fourteen. The Los Angeles Police Department doubled its Intelligence Division personnel from eighty-four in 1969 to 167 in 1970.

Intelligence is not a wholly public function. Political surveillance has been routinely practiced by private detectives since the nineteenth century, when objections to a political police force left the Pinkerton and Burns agencies free to engage in these activities without official competition. Today the private agencies are an important channel for political intelligence. Often they recruit employees with access to official files from government intelligence agencies and sell such information to private industry.

A Dayton, Ohio, firm which calls itself Agitator Detection, Inc., advertises a "sure-fire method for keeping radical America out of work." "We have," the company boasts, "complete, computerized files on every known American dissident. And all 160 million of their friends, relatives and fellow travelers."

A scattering of right-wing organizations and publications across the country also has access to intelligence data. For example, the Church League of America, headed by Edgar Bundy, boasts of its over 7 million cross-indexed files of political suspects, its "working relationships" with "leading law enforcement agencies," and its cooperation with undercover agents. These organizations are prized by intelligence agencies because they share the basic intelligence assumption that the country is in the grip of a widespread subversive conspiracy. Intelligence agents and informers use the platform and publications of the far right to document this thesis with "inside" information.

Local and national intelligence agencies are beginning to coalesce into an "intelligence community." For example, the young demonstrators who came to Chicago in 1968 encountered red squad operatives from their home towns. The overheated reports of these visiting local agents led Mayor Daley's office to conclude that a plot to assassinate Johnson had been hatched. The urban agents cooperated with their federal counterparts, as well as with the Army and Navy secret operatives at the Chicago demonstrations. During the subsequent conspiracy trial, no fewer than thirty of about forty substantive prosecution witnesses were police agents or infiltrators associated with governmental surveillance at various levels.

The FBI plays a central role in coordinating the intelligence system; it exchanges information with other agencies, performs investigative work for intelligence groups with limited jurisdiction, and trains intelligence agents for service in other agencies. Its intelligence techniques and political standards serve as a model for local operations. It compiles albums of photographs and files of activists which are transmitted to agencies throughout

the United States.⁸

Congressional anti-subversive committees have also expanded their intelligence activities beyond the passive compilation of dossiers available only to government investigative personnel. They now provide a forum for local intelligence agencies publish dossiers, mug shots, and other photographs of subjects obtained by surveillance and supplied by police witnesses.⁹ They also independently engage in intelligence activities.

⁸The FBI circulates through its own internal intelligence channels a document known as the "agitator index," which is made available to local agencies. In the spring and summer of 1968 the Washington field office of the FBI compiled an elaborate collection of dossiers and photographs for use in connection with the Resurrection City demonstration.

That material was thereafter augmented and organized into an album; multiple copies were made and transmitted to the Chicago police for use in dealing with protest activity around the Democratic convention. The FBI agent who was responsible for the idea received a special commendation. Such albums of "known leftists" are now widely circulated.

At a hearing last year, Chief Counsel Sourwine of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee described the subcommittee's mission in these words:

"We seek information with respect to the persons who head these subversive organizations and are active in them and who participate in them, the persons who support them; about the interconnections, the channels of authority, and the sources of funds.

"We are asking police departments from all across the country to sift their records and bring these facts here for the committee... by gathering all of the available information from leading police departments throughout the country, the committee hopes to be able eventually to present a picture. We are charting the organizations in each area, the persons in each area who are connected... and we hope when we finish we will have a picture which will show just what this country is up against."

The appendix to the volume from which this is quoted contains a series of documents from the intelligence files of the Flint, Michigan, Police Department including a "sten pad" which "was owned by one of the top members of the SDS," taken from a car in a raid which had no justifiable basis.

III

The changing role of the police in carrying out surveillance was described a few years ago by Inspector Harry Fox of the Philadelphia police. In his Senate testimony, he said:

Police now have become "watch-dogs" and "observers" of vocal, subversive and revolutionary minded people. This function has been institutionalized in Philadelphia in a "civil-disobedience unit" composed of selected and highly trained plainclothesmen. They cover all meetings, rallies, lectures, marches, sit-ins, laydowns, fasts, vigils, or any other type of demonstration that has ominous overtones. . . .

These officers know by sight the hard core men and women who lead and inspire demonstrations. They know their associates, family ties, techniques, and affiliations with organizations leaning toward Communism both on and off the Attorney General's list. They see them day in and day out recruiting, planning, carrying signs, and verbally assaulting the principles of democracy.

Yes, the police role has become one of . . . surveillance, taking photographs, identifying participants, and making records of the events. On this basis, local police are able to piece together this jigsaw puzzle and see the widespread activity of the hard core demonstrators and instigators.

This account naturally omits the harassing and "guerrilla warfare" aspects of police tactics. To the policeman, public protest is an unwelcome disruption of the tranquillity which he regards as natural and proper. His response to antiwar activities is particularly hostile because he sees himself as a beleaguered defender of "patriotic" values, which he tends to protect by abusing his power, harassing demonstrators, and intimidating suspects. His resentment and anger are provoked in the same way by the nonconformity and personal style of many young people, who are now the principal targets of heavy surveillance and who are constantly subjected to detention and arrest on flimsy charges.

Protest activities have inevitably served to draw the police into politics and to expand their intelligence functions. Especially ominous is the widening use of photographic surveillance by intelligence units. Police in communities throughout the country systematically photograph demonstrations, parades, confrontations, vigils, rallies, presentations of petitions to congressmen and senators, and related activities. The photographers attached to the Philadelphia intelligence unit, for example, cover more than a thousand demonstrations a year. Any "incident" considered "controversial" is a predictable subject for the police photographer. Protest demonstrations against the Vietnam war are automatically considered "controversial," but not those in favor. In the South, photographing integrationist protesters is given top priority.

Subjects are often photographed from as close as three to five feet. Sometimes police photographers openly ridicule the demonstrators. Children who accompany their parents are photographed as are casual bystanders and nonparticipants. To convey and conceal photographic equipment, panel trucks are sometimes used, occasionally camouflaged to look like the equipment of a television station (referred to by veteran surveillance subjects as "WFB1"). Surveillance photographers acquire spurious press credentials; bona fide cameramen often moonlight as police or FBI informers.¹⁰ Sup-

¹⁰In view of the overwhelming need for identification it is hardly surprising that informers with photographic skills are paid a bonus. Louis Salzberg, a New York photographer, received about \$10,000 in the two years he served as an FBI informer. He used this money to finance a studio which sold pictures to left publications, the negatives of which were turned over to the FBI. He surfaced at the Chicago conspiracy trial and subsequently testified before the House Internal Security Committee which was also supplied with the negatives as well as with documents and correspondence taken by Salzberg from the files of the Veterans for Peace and the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee.

plementary photographic data are occasionally obtained from cooperating newspaper and television stations.

Photographs are sometimes covertly taken by unobtrusive plainclothesmen when a "respectable" group is involved—for example, parents picketing a school. Usually, however, policemen, sometimes in uniform, do not bother to conceal their activities: they either man the cameras themselves or direct their aides by pointing out individuals or groups to be photographed. The deferent effect of open photography is not lost on the police but is justified on the ground, among others, that it "cools" the "subversive agitator" and prevents potential lawlessness.¹¹

Photographs of individuals not already known to the police are submitted to informers and undercover agents for identification. Sometimes tentative identifications are verified by automobile license numbers which the police systematically collect at meetings and rallies and in front of the houses of "known militants." Then they ask other agencies, urban, state, and federal, to help to identify the subjects.

Once the individual is identified, his name is entered in an index. The local intelligence unit then sets out to obtain information about the subject—solely on the basis of his or her attendance at a single "controversial" event—from other intelligence sources, state and federal. In addition, the contents of the file are passed on, as

¹¹ The importance of photography in the new intelligence scene was amusingly demonstrated during the Chicago conspiracy trial. By court order, to safeguard the integrity of the judicial process, photographers were excluded from the federal courthouse during the trial. But this prohibition unwittingly closed a valuable surveillance channel and the order was amended to permit intelligence photographers to continue to ply their trade.

Captain Drake, Commander of the Intelligence Division of the New Orleans Police Department, has explained, to "every conceivable authority that might have an interest in causing any prosecution or further investigation of these persons."

IV

Photography describes the subject. But other techniques must also be used to obtain political data. These include interrogation of associates, employers, landlords, etc., collection of data about financial resources, bank deposits and withdrawals, and about the subject's background. Where meetings are held publicly, whether indoors or out, the speeches are monitored by portable tape recorders, a practice which is common in large cities but which also is growing in smaller communities, especially in college towns.

Wiretapping and electronic bugging are also common, in spite of judicial restraints on their use.¹² Local police specialists use these devices not only for their own purposes but also on behalf of the FBI. The 1968 Crime Control Law has authorized electronic eavesdropping in certain criminal cases; twelve states have passed similar legislation, while six others are now considering it. A variety of electronic devices is now being offered by commercial supply houses to state and local police

¹² Attorney General Mitchell has asserted an inherent power flowing from executive responsibility for the national security (a term of enormous looseness) to disregard constitutional restraints in this area whenever, in his unreviewable discretion, an individual may be seeking "to attack and subvert the government by unlawful means." And even before the Mitchell regime, wiretapping and bugging were systematically used by the FBI in cases (such as those of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Elijah Muhammad) not even remotely linked to national security.

¹⁶ Conspiracy is a classic vehicle for the political informer for another rea-

son. Under conspiracy law, evidence of acts and statements of co-conspirators to bring about the purposes of the conspiracy agreement are admissible against all the co-conspirators even though, without the agreement (frequently proved by flimsy and remote evidence), it would be incompetent and inadmissible as hearsay.

The informer's tale in this way becomes binding on all of the alleged co-conspirators including individuals he has never seen or met. The conspiracy charge thus economizes on the number of informer witnesses needed to make a case. This is a highly important consideration to intelligence agencies, which are traditionally reluctant to surface informers.

The general question of the reliability of informer witnesses as well as their role in conspiracy cases is dramatized by the current conspiracy indictment of the Berrigans, which is based on evidence supplied by a prison informer, Boyd Douglas, Jr., who also inspired and arranged for a number of the "overt acts" allegedly in furtherance of the conspiracy.

The informer is not only a reporter or an observer, but also an actor or participant, and he frequently transforms what might otherwise be idle talk or prophecy into action. Professor Zachariah Chafee, Jr., once remarked, "The spy often passes over an almost imperceptible boundary into the agent provocateur." The purpose of such provocations, as Allen Dulles wrote in *The Craft of Intelligence*, is to "provide the pretext for arresting any or all of [the group's] members. Since the agent report[s] to the police exactly when and where the action is going to take place, the police [have] no problems."

There are powerful reasons for viewing provocation as the handmaiden of infiltration, even when it is not part of a planned intelligence strategy. A merely passive, "cool" infiltrator-observer cannot hope to play more than a lowly "Jimmy Higgins" role in the target group, if he gains entry at all. In order to enhance his usefulness, he must penetrate planning circles by becoming highly active. Moreover, the pressure to produce results in the form of concrete evidence of illegal activity often drives the infiltrator into provocative acts, regardless of the official cautionary advice which he may be given when he receives his assignment. Such advice is routinely conveyed by the agent's "handler" for the record, as a defense against a possible charge of entrapment.

Convincing evidence of provocation has emerged in a number of recent cases.¹⁷ But the motives of the agent

¹⁷ Thomas Tongyai (Tommy the Traveler), an undercover agent on the campus of Hobart College (an Episcopalian school with a tradition of nonviolence), was charged by students with preaching revolution, using violent rhetoric to gain converts, and demonstrating the M1 carbine and the construction of various types of bombs. He did not deny these allegations but explained, "The best cover for an undercover agent who wanted to get into the campus was portraying the part of a radical extremist which I did."

departments to implement this legislation. Once they become available for even limited purposes, it is extremely unlikely that they will not be used for political surveillance as well.

Still, personal surveillance is necessary in those areas where technology cannot—at present anyway—replace human beings. Thus infiltration of dissident groups by informers remains a common procedure. Ironically, the Warren Court's limitations on wiretapping and bugging have themselves led to a heavier reliance on informers as a substitute. Moreover, these limitations encourage the use of informers because they can supply "probable cause" of a crime and so justify a wiretap order.¹³

Informers are indispensable to political intelligence systems. Electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping are ill-suited to the slow pace, confusion,

ambiguity, and factionalism of the dissenting political activities that are the targets of intelligence. Besides, wiretaps can be circumvented once the subject becomes aware of them. Indeed, nothing can quite take the place of the classic tool of intelligence, the informer. But in addition to the moral stigma attached to informing in Western culture,¹⁴ informers have always

¹³ For example, the primary basis for successful application for, and repeated renewals of, wiretap authorization orders against a group of New York City Panthers consisted of an account by an informer of a conspiracy by the Panthers to engage in the ambush and murder of policemen—a story admittedly invented by the informer, one Shaun Dubonnet, to secure leniency in a criminal case, earn a little money, and further his career as a double agent. Neither Dubonnet's substantial prior criminal record—including two convictions for impersonation—nor his repeated hospitalization for mental illness served to impair his credibility with the police.

The tips and reports of informers, frequently fabricated, provide pretexts for raids. One example of many that could be cited is the alleged tip by the undercover agent to the FBI that the Chicago Black Panthers had assembled an arsenal of guns. This led to a predawn raid in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. Only a few guns were found.

¹⁴ Judge Anderson tersely summed up the matter when he wrote in 1920 in the case of *Colyer v. Skeffington*, "A right-minded man refuses such a job."

been regarded anyway as unreliable and treacherous observers, reporters, and witnesses. Most of them become informers for money. Their income, tenure, and future usefulness depend on their capacity to produce material useful to the police.¹⁵ Others are "hooked" because of previous involvements with the law, or are recruited for ideological reasons—either as police plants or as defectors.

Both the pressures and the inducements, along with the sense of guilt that requires the betrayer to find some justification for his betrayal, tend to produce tainted information. All too frequently it is inaccurate, highly selective, and based on sinister and unwarranted inferences. Where a literal version of a target's utterances would seem innocent, the informer will insist on stressing the connotations; conversely, where the language is figurative or metaphorical the informer reports it as literally intended. Most important of all, he seizes on the transient fantasies of the powerless—rhetoric and images not intended to be acted upon—and transforms them into conspiracies whose purpose and commitment are wholly alien to their volatile and ambiguous context.

It need only be added that the hazards inherent in the testimony of political informers are especially great in conspiracy cases. The vague, inchoate character of the conspiracy charge and the atmosphere of plotting and hidden guilt which accompanies it make it a perfect foil for the undercover agent who surfaces on the witness stand, a hero returned from the dark wood.¹⁶

¹⁵ According to information from an FBI source, "informants" (as the FBI prefers to call them; "informer" is a subversive usage) submit vast quantities of data of a highly inflammatory character. The "contact" does not challenge it because he is afraid to lose the informant. Frequently he ignores this suspect material in his own reports either because he is convinced that it is incredible or that the informant would have to surface, to testify, if it became the basis for a criminal charge. This would again result in losing the informant and require the "contact" to recruit a replacement. It is infinitely preferable, I was told, to cover up for an informant even if his reports are wholly false than to be forced to go to the trouble of finding a replacement.

According to Alabama Civil Liberties Union lawyers, in May of 1970 a student infiltrator for the FBI and the Tuscaloosa police on the University of Alabama campus, Charles Grimm, Jr., committed arson and incited acts of violence, which were then used as a

reason for declaring a campus protest meeting an unlawful assembly, a ruling which resulted in criminal charges against 150 students. One of the attorneys contended that the agent had admitted the violent acts to him and that the FBI and local police had spirited the agent away to make him unavailable in the court cases.

William Frapolly, a Chicago police spy at Northeastern Illinois State College, was the leader of an SDS sit-in and participated in a Weatherman action which culminated in throwing the institution's president off a stage, conduct which led to his expulsion for two semesters. As the only Weatherman SDS representative on Northeastern's campus, Frapolly actively recruited young students to join the SDS Weatherman faction and to participate in the Weatherman-sponsored "Days of Rage" in Chicago in the fall of 1969. He surfaced as a prosecution witness in the Chicago conspiracy trial, where he conceded on the witness stand that during convention week he proposed a number of schemes for sabotaging public facilities and military vehicles although his assigned duties as a marshal were to maintain order.

There are half a dozen comparable cases. The UCLA Academic Freedom Committee report which I have already cited states that its probe revealed suggestive evidence of the presence of undercover agents as *agents provocateurs*, engaging in or precipitating the behavior they are charged with suppressing.

provocateur are frequently complex and difficult to reconstruct from the materials available. The most common *provocateur* is simply a professional police agent who coldly engineers a single provocative act designed to "set up" leaders for roundup and arrest.

Another type (of which Tommy the Traveler is an example) is the ultrarightist who becomes a spy in order to destroy the target group. He is often driven to act out his paranoid fantasies with bombs and guns when his delusions about the group's sinister goals fail to conform to reality.

On the other hand, as the FBI student informer William T. Divale has disclosed in his recently published confessions, *I Lived Inside the Campus Revolution*, a planted informer may come to share the values of his victims, with the result that his newly acquired convictions carry him far beyond the call of duty—a form of conversion characteristic of infiltrators of black and youth groups. The infiltrator's secret knowledge that he alone in the group is immune from accountability for his acts dissolves all restraints on his zeal. He does, of course, take the risk of exposure and punitive reprisal, but this possibility itself encourages him to disarm suspicion by acting as a super-militant. This almost schizoid quality of the behavior of informers seems inherent in political surveillance and has recurred throughout its history.

Many student informers who have surfaced or recanted have been revealed as operating for two intelligence agencies at the same time—usually a local and a federal one. Several informers commonly penetrate a single organization; indeed this is prescribed as sound intelligence practice, because each surveillance report can cross-check the others.¹⁸ Attempts to recruit

¹⁸ There is no optimal number of infiltrators. An FBI agent whom I recently interviewed said that at a Washington Peace Mobilization meeting

in 1969, of the thirty-two individuals present, nine were undercover agents. The number of informers an FBI agent can recruit is limited only by his budget for this purpose. An informer is first used *ad hoc* and is paid a small stipend. He is known in the Bureau's records as a potential security informant (PSI) or a potential racial informant (PRI). When he proves his worth he becomes a "reliable informant," acquires a file, cover name, and is paid a fixed salary (sometimes disguised or augmented as "expenses"), which is increased from time to time as his usefulness grows.

young leftists as police spies have also recently become common: For example, in the fall of 1969, young volunteers for the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam were solicited to become informers by FBI agents. "Will you work for us?" they were asked as they entered the elevator on their way to the Committee's office. The FBI has recently acquired official jurisdiction on college campuses, which will result in even more extensive subsidy of student informers.

As the FBI Media documents make clear, Bureau agents now have formal authority from Washington to recruit informers as young as eighteen, including those attending two-year junior and community colleges. This authorization of September, 1970, made official a practice which long preceded the issuance of the directive but was consistently denied for public relations reasons. In fact, J. Edgar Hoover repeated this denial as recently as February of this year.

Moreover, local police—especially in university communities—have lately

been given special funds to hire secret informers. For this purpose at least one state, Wisconsin, has made available the sum of \$10,000.¹⁹

V

In the past the police agencies (whether federal or local) preferred to act as the informer's "handler," "controller," or "contact." Police officers themselves only rarely resorted to impersonation, dissembling loyalties, the fabrication of false cover identities—techniques made familiar by foreign intelligence practice and regarded as abhorrent to our traditions. It was one thing to hire an agent as an independent contractor to do the dirty work of political snooping, but quite another for a public servant to do it himself.

Today, however, the police themselves often go underground. In New Orleans an intelligence division officer gained access to the Black Panther headquarters by impersonating a priest. At least six agents of New York's Special Service Division infiltrated the Black Panthers, and appeared as witnesses in their current trial.

Three members of Chicago's intelligence unit infiltrated the Chicago Peace Council. One of them, in order to enhance his credibility, exposed another to Council leaders as a policeman. According to Karl Meyer, the Council's chairman, "At our meetings they invariably took the most militant

¹⁹ Some students are paid a fixed stipend but the practice is growing, especially in urban intelligence units, of paying them for each item of information. Houston pays them from \$5 to \$400, depending on the value of the information.

positions, trying to provoke the movement from its nonviolent force to the wildest kind of ventures." "They were," he concluded, "about our most active members." The Peace Council became suspicious of possible spies when it and other Chicago groups—the Latin American Defense Organization, Women Strike for Peace, the Fellowship of Reconciliation—suffered a number of burglaries of files and records. (Office machines and small amounts of money were also stolen but subsequently returned.)

Agents of the Chicago intelligence unit are scattered throughout Illinois, and sometimes do not report to their superiors for days or even months. Their real identities are concealed even from their colleagues. Their methods include disguises, wiretapping, and the creation of elaborate "covers," such as dummy businesses. In numerous cities, including San Diego, Houston, Oakland, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Columbus, the agent-informer is becoming a familiar phenomenon. We are moving toward the classic European model of political infiltration, in which the planted police agent lives a double life for years if necessary, clandestinely reporting to his superiors. This kind of intelligence requires skill and training; so one should not be surprised to see the emergence of schools of instruction in the deceptive arts, similar to those run by the CIA for indoctrination in foreign intelligence and guerrilla activity.

VI

At an ever increasing rate the activities of ~~anti-war~~ anti-Establishment, civil

rights, black militant, student, and youth groups are being recorded and compiled. Lists and dossiers are coded, computerized, stored, and made accessible to all branches of the intelligence network. Here is how Lt. George Fencel, head of Philadelphia's civil disobedience unit, describes its filing system:

We've been acquainted with quite a number of people throughout the years we've been handling demonstrations. We have made a record of every demonstration that we've handled in the city of Philadelphia and reduced this to writing, first by report and then taking out the names of persons connected with the different movements.

We have some 18,000 names and we've made what we call an alphabetical file. We make a 5x8 card on each demonstrator that we know the name and so forth that we handle. This card shows such information as the name, address, picture if possible, and a little rundown on the person... which group he pickets with and so forth.

Also on the back of the card, we show the different demonstrations, the date, time and location and the groups that the person picketed with. We have some 600 different organizations that we've encountered in the Philadelphia area.

This new intelligence system concentrates more on compiling names than on the content of speeches or other activities. For example, a report submitted to the Detroit Criminal Investigation Bureau by two undercover

agents reads as follows:

At 8:00 P.M. on Thursday, November 11, 1965, the WEST CENTRAL ORGANIZATION held a special meeting which was comprised primarily of executives, delegates and clergy. The meeting was called for a briefing by MR. SAUL ALINSKY of the INDUSTRIAL AREAS FOUNDATION, Chicago, Illinois, who was in the Detroit area on November 10 and 11, 1965. Thirty-seven persons attended this meeting.

The following persons were identified as being in attendance at the above meeting, identifications being made by surveilling officers as well as by Confidential Informant 059. [A list of twenty-one names follows.]

The following vehicles were observed parked in the immediate vicinity of 3535 Grand River, occupants entering same. [There follows a list of eleven automobiles together with the names and addresses of eleven individuals who are presumably the title registrants.]

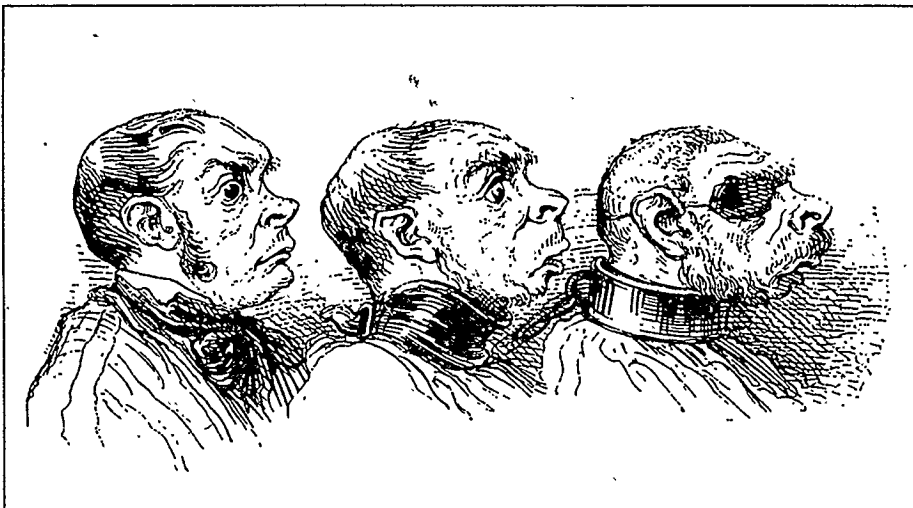
There is nothing in the report which suggests the reason for the surveillance or what took place at the meeting.

Experience with other official record systems suggests that it is only a matter of time before the intelligence now being collected by thousands of federal and local agencies will be codified and made accessible on a broad scale. Indeed, we are not far away from a computerized nation-wide system of transmittal and storage.

VII

While the recent bombings and the hunt for fugitives have supplied justifi-

cation for some surveillance practices, the emerging system as a whole is oriented toward the future and is justified as preventive: the security of the nation against future overthrow is said to require the present frenzy of surveillance. In cases where such an argument makes no sense, surveillance is justified on grounds that it is necessary to prevent local violence and disorder in the future.



Political intelligence indiscriminately sweeps into its net the mild dissenters along with those drawn to violence; when the national security is at stake, so the argument runs, it is folly to take risks. The quarry is pursued long before expressions or associations of radicals are likely to incubate into violent or revolutionary acts. The fear of waiting "until it is too late" conditions the intelligence mind to suspect all forms of dissent as signs of potential "subversion."²⁰

²⁰Or, in the talismanic intelligence usage, "threats to the national security."

Thus peaceful, moderate, lawful organizations—from the NAACP to the Fellowship of Reconciliation—become intelligence targets on the theory that they are linked to communism or subversion.²¹ This lack of selectivity, a familiar phenomenon to students of intelligence, has now been abundantly documented by the Senate testimony of former Army Intelligence agents and the recent Media documents.

To equate dissent with subversion, as intelligence officials do, is to deny that the demand for change is based on real social, economic, or political conditions. A familiar example of this assumption is the almost paranoid obsession with the "agitator." Intelligence proceeds on the assumption that

²¹The informer's super-militance in such groups, his proclaimed impatience with the slow pace of his associates, clothe him with the requisite credibility when he seeks ultimate entry into the more inaccessible organizations, in spite of his possible differences in social class and personal style.

most people are reasonably contented but are excited or misled by an "agitator," a figure who typically comes from "outside" to stir up trouble. The task is to track down this sinister individual and bring him to account; all will then be well again.

Since the agitator is elusive and clever, one never knows who he will turn out to be or where he will show his hand. Indeed, the striking characteristic of the agitator, according to the rhetoric and testimony of the intelligence people, is not his views nor his actions but his persistence. A subject who keeps coming to meetings or rallies or is repeatedly involved in "incidents" is soon marked as an agitator²² (more sophisticated terms: "militant," "activist," sometimes preceded by "hard core").

²²The special loathing with which grass-roots intelligence functionaries perceive the "agitator" is expressively conveyed in Congressional testimony presented in October, 1970, by Michael A. Amico, sheriff of Erie County, New York, who has organized an elaborate informer and surveillance system in the Buffalo area. Referring to the target groups under surveillance, he testified:

"Many of these organizations start their meetings clandestinely by burning the American flag before they go into their rituals. It is difficult to get young undercover agents to remain disciplined to withstand, if you know the reaction, what does happen upon the burning of the flag. These are the rituals and different practices and, as said by the undercover man, orgasms are obtained by the different activities that follow because of the burning of the flag."

The outside agitator is a descendent of the "foreign agitator" or the "agent of a foreign power," as he came to be called. The thesis that domestic radicals are either tools or dupes of foreign manipulation provides intelligence agencies with their most effective way of exploiting popular fears, one which is also cherished by legislators. All movements on the left—and especially groups such as the Panthers—have come under attack as agents for foreign powers.²³

Such ideological stereotypes give intelligence a powerful bias against movements of protest from the center leftward. To be sure, a handful of ultra-rightist groups such as the Klan and the Minutemen are also under surveillance, but for political intelligence, the presumption of innocence is largely confined to the defenders of the status quo. For individuals and groups committed to social or political protest, the presumption is reversed.²⁴ Peaceful,

²³Recently declassified Army Intelligence documents (Annex B—Intelligence—to the Department of the Army Civil Disturbance Plan and Department of the Army Civil Disturbance Information Collection Plan), the most revealing intelligence material in the literature, suggest that peace and anti-draft movements are foreign-directed because "they are supporting the stated objectives of foreign elements which are detrimental to the USA."

²⁴It is hardly surprising that intelligence is most at home with non-crimes such as "subversion" or inchoate crimes such as conspiracy in which innocent conduct is treated as criminal because it is claimed to be connected

in an illegal agreement and performed with evil intent. The affinity of the intelligence mind for the conspiracy offense can be illustrated by the testimony of Detective Sergeant John Ungvary, head of the Cleveland intelligence squad, before a Senate committee. He urged that "if we had a law whereby we can charge all of them [black nationalists] as participants or conspirators... it would be far better than waiting for an overt act..."

nonviolent activity must be constantly scrutinized because it may turn out to be a vital clue to a vast subversive conspiracy.

VIII

While intelligence is developing new clandestine activities, it is also becoming highly visible. American political activity is plagued by an intelligence "presence" which demoralizes, intimidates, and frightens many of its targets—and is intended to do so. And it is not merely a "presence." A variety of sanctions are improvised to punish politically objectionable subjects. These include "information management" (such as inclusion on the "ten most wanted" list), press leaks, harassment, prosecution on drug charges, legislative inquisition, physical violence, the vandalizing of cars, black-listing, the refusal to give police protection when needed, illegal searches and raids on prettexts.

One prevailing assumption of intelligence officers is that "subversion" is financed and supported by respectable "front" institutions (churches, foundations, and universities, for example) and individuals (such as lawyers). Special pressures are brought by intelligence agencies to cut off such suspected

subsidies—for example, J. Edgar Hoover's attacks on white contributors to Black Panther defense funds and the listing by the House Internal Security Committee of honoraria paid to liberal and radical campus speakers.

Intelligence is thus becoming an end in itself, rather than an investigative means—a transformation all too clearly reflected in the encouragement of FBI agents to confront subjects in order to "enhance" their "paranoia," as one of the Media documents states. But its claim to be conducting a never-ending investigation into some future unspecified threat to the national security is consistently used to legitimize its expansion. Few want to shackle the police in their hunt for wrongdoers, especially those who threaten the safety of the Republic. Why should one question a "mere" investigation, even if tons of constitutional ore may have to be excavated in order to find a single subversive nugget?

IX

What are the standards that intelligence agencies must follow for selecting subjects of surveillance, for the techniques they use or the data they develop? In fact, there are no effective standards, and there are no effective authorities in this country to insist on such standards. Every surveillance unit claims its own authority to deal with "subversion" or "subversive activities," terms which mean whatever the agency wants them to mean. The head of the Chicago intelligence unit, Lt. Joseph Healy, summed up the matter when he testified at the conspiracy trial that his squad maintained surveillance over "any organization that could create

problems for the city or the country." That Army Intelligence took the same view is shown by recent disclosures that it was snooping into a virtually unlimited range of civilian activity.

In most cases, the jurisdiction to engage in political intelligence activities is wholly improvised. This is true not merely of many local agencies but of the FBI itself. The authority the FBI claims it has to stalk nonconformists can be justified neither by its law enforcement powers nor by its domestic spy-catching jurisdiction. The latter, in fact, is based on an obscure 1939 directive which J. Edgar Hoover has interpreted as conferring upon the FBI the power, in his words, "to identify individuals working against the United States, determine their objectives and nullify their effectiveness." Who are these "individuals"? Those whose activities involve "subversion and related internal security problems."

The unlimited scope of their jurisdiction and their virtual autonomy encourage intelligence institutions to consolidate and expand. Intelligence thus constantly enlarges its operations by exaggerating the numbers, power, and intentions of the subversive enemy.²⁵

²⁵ The technique of broadening the boundaries of subversion has been developed and refined by the Congressional anti-subversive committees: first, by the application of notions of vicarious, imputed, and derived guilt; second, by a process of cross-fertilization which proscribes an organization through the individuals associated with it and the individuals through their relationship to the organization; third, by increasing the number of condemned organizations through their

ligence, including the penetration of intelligence institutions to thwart their effectiveness. Some groups are beginning to boast about their double agents, counter-spies, and pipelines to police sources. One Berkeley police officer has already complained (and not very convincingly): "I'm afraid they do a better job spying on us than we do on them."

The pilferage and circulation of the Media FBI documents seem to suggest an escalation in counterintelligence tactics. The group responsible for the action has already announced, as a follow-up measure, a planned exposure of a "first group" of FBI informers whose names appear in as yet unreleased stolen documents. This listing of a "first group" is presumably to be followed by publication of lists of others.

Such a tactic will not only create a painful dilemma for present Philadelphia area informers but may vastly complicate the FBI's problems in future recruitment. Because political spies are the keystone of the entire federal political intelligence system, the FBI goes to extraordinary lengths to shield their identities and stresses these protective practices as an inducement for recruits. A breach in the FBI security system may well scare off potential informers not only in the Philadelphia area, but everywhere—Who knows where the Citizens' Commission will strike next? The increased risk is bound to boost the price of the informers' services. At the very least, it will "enhance" among the hunters the same "paranoia" now "endemic" among the hunted.

XII

Our political intelligence apparatus has begun to exert a dangerous influence on the exercise of political power. The attempt by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce to use intelligence data to discredit and destroy a group of Los Angeles poverty agencies is a dramatic example of a spreading phenomenon. A candidate for public office learns that he has been made an intelligence target by orders of his opponent, the incumbent. A lawyer for a victim of police brutality is threatened with being disbarred as a "subversive" because of leaks in the police department's intelligence files.

Mayor Alioto of San Francisco discovers that unevaluated intelligence files compiled by federal and urban agencies, full of smears and unverified rumors, are opened up to the press for an article which threatens his political ruin.²⁶ A check of the California Un-American Activities Committee files discloses dossiers on many legislators, including the Senate president, with notations reflecting intensive surveillance. A courageous Chicago newsman, Ron Dorfman, who has vigorously attacked intelligence practices in that city, is confronted with a detailed dossier on himself in a session with the Illinois Crime Commission.

²⁶ The mayor's charges against federal agencies have not been denied. The Los Angeles Police Department has admitted supplying confidential files to the writer of the article. The coordinator of intelligence, Sergeant George Bell, stated: "I would pull the index cards and let him go over the resums, and some of them he asked to see the copy [of the file itself]."

It is chilling enough to learn that in this country literally millions of people are systematically suffering invasions of privacy, and, what is worse, are forced to exercise their rights of free expression and assembly under the fear of surveillance. But when a secret political police begins to play an important role in political decisions and campaigns, the democratic process is in grave danger.

Nor is there much comfort in the notion that our current intelligence mania is only a transient response to a particular emergency. History—and, for that matter the annals of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI—painfully teaches that once a political intelligence system takes root, it is almost impossible to eradicate it. Fear and blackmail ensure its autonomy and self-perpetuation. How many of us can be expected to challenge a system which has such power to do injury to its critics?²⁷

links to one another; fourth, by treating subversion as permanent, irreversible; and even hereditary, with the result that a dossier, no matter how old, never loses its importance nor a subject his "interest."

This technique has been ingeniously applied in a remarkable document, *A Report on the SDS Riots, October 8-11, 1969*, issued by the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission, April, 1970, and reprinted in June, 1970, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Ostensibly concerned with the Weatherman demonstration ("Days of Rage"), this 400-page report is a virtual encyclopedia of militant radicalism among youth, replete with dossiers, photographs, personal letters, diaries, and documents relating not merely to the SDS figures with whom it purports to be primarily concerned, but to a host of other individuals and organizations about whom the Commission had collected intelligence information and whom it linked in the most tortured fashion to the subject matter of the Commission's report. This information, much of it highly inaccurate, was published purely for the purpose of punitive exposure of intelligence targets.

Ironically, this exaggeration is further stimulated by the need to develop some plausible political and constitutional justification for violating democratic rights. Intelligence not only continually expands the boundaries of subversion in its operations, but inevitably generates a stream of fear-mongering propaganda in its evaluation of intelligence data. A troubled period such as the present intensifies this process: the number of surveillance subjects increases greatly as the intelligence agencies circulate propaganda dramatizing their life-and-death struggle with subversion.

X

The link between drug use and political radicalism has also served to

expand the scope of political surveillance. In the past, narcotics law enforcement and the policing of political crimes have drawn on similar surveillance techniques. This was so because

both involve conduct to which the parties consent and both frequently leave little proof that any crime was committed. Today the "nark" and undercover intelligence operatives are frequently in pursuit of the same prey. The same agents sometimes function in both areas and political militancy is a common cover for the "nark," especially on college campuses.

Similarly, students under surveillance for drug use are frequently selected for their political nonconformity, a link manifest in the background of both the Kent State and Hobart College cases, as well as in the conviction of Dr. Leslie Fiedler of the State University of New York at Buffalo for maintaining premises where marijuana

was used. The pot bust has become a punitive sanction against political dissent and the threat of prosecution is a favorite method of "hooking" student informers. Lee Otis Johnson, former head of Houston's Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is now serving a thirty-year jail term for the sale of a single marijuana cigarette to a Houston undercover policeman.

XI

Many young radicals are finding ways of evading undercover surveillance of their political activities. Intelligence inevitably generates countermeasures ("security"), driving its targets into protective secrecy and sometimes underground even though they are usually engaged in legal protest. Such furtiveness is then cited as further proof of subversion and conspiracy ("What have they got to hide?") and reinforces the justification for surveillance.

Radicals in the past few years have tried to protect themselves by rigorously checking the backgrounds of possible infiltrators, isolating a suspected agent or feeding him bogus information, giving him test assignments, banning the use of drugs, cars, and private phones, and forming affinity groups. The radicals themselves sometimes use disguises and false names. The ultimate response to intelligence is counterintel-

Americans will now have to answer the question whether the risks that we face—and some of them are real enough—outweigh the danger of a national secret police. One can hardly question the right of the government to inform itself of potential crimes and acts of violence. The resort to bombing as a political tactic obviously creates a justification for intelligence to forestall such practices. But the evolving intelligence system I have been describing clearly exceeds these limited ends. Before it is too late we must take a cold look at our entire political intelligence system: not to determine whether one aspect or another is repressive—whether, for example, it is possible to keep a dossier confidential—but to decide whether internal political intelligence as an institution, divorced from law enforcement, is consistent with the way we have agreed to govern ourselves and to live politically.

Eighteen cases have now been filed throughout the country, with American Civil Liberties Union support, to challenge various surveillance and filing practices by police agencies as violating constitutional rights of free expression, assembly, privacy, and the protection against unreasonable search and seizure. The constitutional issues imbedded in these cases will undoubtedly be presented ultimately to the Supreme Court. These challenges are important if for no other reason than that they will drag undercover surveillance out of the shadows.

But the political intelligence system cannot be controlled by piecemeal attacks in the courts. If our past experience is a guide, even successful litigation may leave unchecked the particular abuses involved by limiting surveillance in ways that are readily ignored or circumvented by a bureauc-

²⁷ Political files and dossiers give bureaucratic continuity to intelligence agencies and are a powerful reason for their survival in the face of the most hostile attack. When intelligence spokesmen cry, "What will happen to these valuable files which alone stand between us and a Commie takeover?" critics are usually silenced. After a motion was carried in January, 1945, to terminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the House reversed itself on the plea of Congressman Rankin that "these valuable records that probably involve the fate of the Nation, the safety of the American people, would be dissipated—I want to see that these papers are kept; that is the one thing I am striving for."

...racy which is a law unto itself. Political intelligence is both a symbol of a dying politics and the means of keeping it alive through powerful myths and constraints. A truly effective attack on the evils of intelligence cannot be mounted apart from the political process. A legislative investigation, more sharply focused and more searching than Senator Ervin's investigation, is vital in order to scour this area as thoroughly as Senator La Follette's investigation scoured labor espionage in the Thirties. Such a probe could develop a fuller understanding of political intelligence and might lay the basis for dismantling a system which, if it is allowed to grow, may choke all possibility of real change in this country. But it is illusory to talk of an effective investigative and statutory attack on the powerful intelligence system at present. The elimination of the evils of political surveillance and dossiers is yet another reason why we need a new politics. □

9/16/70
Edition #1

This newsletter will be produced at irregular intervals as needed to keep those persons dealing with New Left problems up to date in an informal way. It is not a serial and is considered an informal routing slip. It should be given the security afforded a Bureau serial, classified confidential, but may be destroyed when original purpose is served.

The New Left conference at SOC 9/10-11/70 produced some comments:

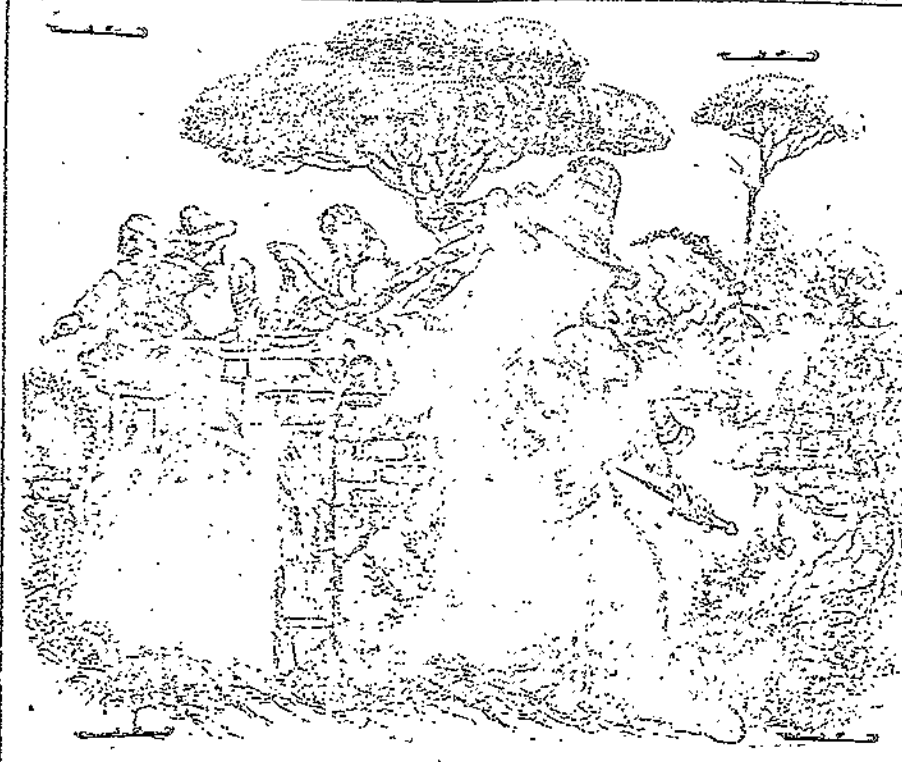
In disseminating reports recommending for the SI it is preferable to designate and disseminate to Secret Service immediately and put the FD-376 (the buck slip to Secret Service) on the second Bureau copy.

There was a pretty general consensus that more interviews with these subjects and hangers-on are in order for plenty of reasons; chief of which are it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an FBI Agent behind every mailbox. In addition, some will be overcome by the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agent and volunteer to tell all - perhaps on a continuing basis. The Director has okayed PSI's and SI's age 18 to 21. We have been blocked off from this critical age group in the past. Let us take advantage of this opportunity.

In payments to informants, if the total of services and expenses to an informant is less than \$300 in a lump sum payment or per month, our request for such payment is handled within division 5. If the lump sum payment or monthly authorization is \$300 or more, it must be approved on a much higher level. Note: If an informant is to travel outside our division and we initially go in and request expense payment of less than \$300, it can be handled simply while the services payment can be requested later based on what he has produced.

J. Jones

From the FBI Media documents.





NR010 NH CODE

938PM NITEL 5/18/71 LF

TO: DIRECTOR (52-94527), BOSTON (52-6636), CHARLOTTE,
NEW YORK (52-10018), PHILADELPHIA (52-7165), AND
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: NEW HAVEN (52-1972)

MEDBURG

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/18/80 BY SP2 TAO/2852

RE: BOSTON TELETYPE MAY TWELVE LAST.

RETEL FURNISHED IDENTITIES FROM MAILING OF PACKAGES

FROM: RESIST NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

LISTED ON PAGE TWO WAS: FRANK DONNER, ACLU POLICE

SPYING PROJECT, YALE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

ON MAY TWELVE LAST, A SOURCE AT YALE LAW SCHOOL ADVISED

THAT FRANK DONNER, AN ATTORNEY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ACLU,

HAS BEEN FURNISHED A ROOM AT YALE LAW SCHOOL. HE AND A MAY 27 1971

SECRETARY UTILIZE THE LAW SCHOOL LIBRARY AND COLLATE MATERIAL

IN CONJUNCTION WITH SOME PROJECT HE IS PURSUING.

END PAGE ONE

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NH (52-1972)

PAGE TWO .

NEW HAVEN INDICES REFLECT THAT DONNER IS THE SUBJECT OF BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH TWO FIVE SIX EIGHT EIGHT; OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK, NEW YORK FILE ONE HUNDRED DASH ONE ONE THREE FOUR TWO, NEW HAVEN FILE ONE HUNDRED DASH ONE FOUR ZERO EIGHT FIVE.

FRANK JORIS DONNER WAS BORN FEB. TWENTY FIVE, NINETEEN ELEVEN, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. HE HAS A LONG HISTORY OF LEGAL ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF THE CP AND CP FRONT ORGINAZATIONS. IN NINETEEN FIFTYSIX AND NINETEEN FIFTYNINE HE DISPLAYED A HOSTILITY BEFORE THE HCUA. HE AUTHORED THE "UNAMERICANS." HE IS A MEMBER OF THE FAIRFIELD COUNTY (CONN.) CHAPTER OF THE CONN. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AND AFFILIATE OF THE ACLU. HE RESIDES AT THIRTY DOCK ROAD, VILLAGE CREEK, SOUTH NORWALK, CONN. HE IS AN ATTORNEY WITH OFFICES IN ROOM THREE ONE ONE, THIRTYSIX WEST FORTYFOURTH ST., NEW YORK CITY. HE IS GENERAL COUNSEL FOR THE UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO, AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UERMWA) AND HAS AN OFFICE THERE ALSO.

A LETTER ISSUED NOV. ONE, NINETEEN SEVENTY, ON THE STATIONARY OF THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD AND ADDRESSED "DEAR
END PAGE TWO

NH (52-1972)

PAGE THREE

CONN
NATIONAL LAWYERS

(2)

GUILD MEMBER" WAS SIGNED BY FRANK J. DONNER AND DORIS BRIN
WALKER. IT REFLECTED THAT DONNER, A NLG MEMBER, WAS ENGAGED
IN A PROJECT FUNDED BY A FOUNDATION, TO INVESTIGATE POLITICAL
SURVEILLANCE UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE ACLU. THE LOCATION
OF THE PROJECT WAS ROOM TWO THREE FIVE, YALE LAW SCHOOL,
NEW HAVEN.

NEW HAVEN AND NEW YORK WILL REMAIN ALERT TO ANY
INFORMATION THAT MIGHT ORIGINATE FROM DONNER, CONCERNING
RECEIPT OF POSSIBLE COPY OF MATERIAL FROM MEDBURG.

P

END

May 16, 1974

ST 109

REC-1

100-25688-160
Mr. Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

Dear Mr. Donner:

I have received your letter dated May 10, 1974.

Pursuant to your request, I have enclosed a copy of the text of my press conference which was held on May 9, 1974.

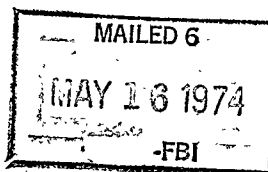
Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Enclosure



1 - Mr. Franck

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

NOTE: Frank J. Donner is the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation. He has participated in many legal activities on behalf of the Communist Party and Communist Party Front organizations. Frequently he has engaged in projects for the ACLU which have resulted in much criticism toward the FBI.

JRK:jam (6)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION, INC.

(A charitable and educational foundation affiliated with, but separate from, The American Civil Liberties Union, Inc., a social welfare organization.)

Project on Political Surveillance

ROOM 235, YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520 (203) 432-4307

Frank J. Donner
Project Director

Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

Kathe Fox
Project Administrator

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

BOARD OF OVERSEERS

Ralph Bellamy
Helen Buttenwieser
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Marvin M. Karparkin
Executive Vice President
Aryeh Neier

May 10, 1974

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Public Relations Dept.
Washington, D.C. 20535

Gentlemen,

Would you please send me a copy of the proceedings at the
press conference held by Director Kelley on May 9, 1974.

Respectfully,

Frank J. Donner

Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk
Conn. 06854

FJD/erp

ack ltr dtd
5/16/74
JRK:jam

REC-1

EX-113

MAY 17 1974

FILE
CORRESPONDENCE

To: ☒ DireDate 9/21/72

Att.: DOMESTIC

Bu FILE

100-25688

INTELLIGENCE

DIVISION

Title

FRANK JORISDONNER

NOT

☐ SAC☐ ASAC☐ Supv.☐ Agent☐ SE☐ IC☐ CC☐ Steno☐ Clerk

OO:NY

NYfile

100-11342RE: Bureau Memorandum 21-72,
dated 9/12/72ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge☐ Assign Reassign☐ Bring file☐ Call me☐ Correct☐ Deadline☐ Deadline passed☐ Delinquent☐ Discontinue☐ Expedite☐ File☐ For information☐ Handle☐ Initial & return☐ Leads need attention☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.☐ Open Case☐ Prepare lead cards☐ Prepare tickler☐ Return assignment card☐ Return file☐ Search and return☐ See me☐ Serial #☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return☐ Send to☐ Submit new charge out☐ Submit report by☐ TypeFILE HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND SUBJECT DOES NOT
MEET CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION ON ADEX AS SET
FORTH IN REFERENCED BUREAU MEMORANDUM.SAC JOHN F. MALONE

See reverse side

Office NEW YORK

☆ GPO : 1971 421-419

① Bureau (RM)
1 New York

100-25688-

File
100-25688-

NOT RECORDED

18 SEP 28 1972

570012

F494

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-25688) DATE: 4/4/72

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-11342)

SUBJECT: FRANK JORIS DONNER
SM-C
(OO:NEW YORK)

Re: _____

Recommend: ☐ ADEX Card ☐ ADEX Card changed (specify change only) ☐ Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name			
Aliases		<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien	Tab <input type="checkbox"/> Category I <input type="checkbox"/> Category II <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Category III <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Category IV
<input type="checkbox"/> AWC <input type="checkbox"/> BNT <input type="checkbox"/> BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST <input type="checkbox"/> JFG <input type="checkbox"/> MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> NL <input type="checkbox"/> NOI <input type="checkbox"/> PPA <input type="checkbox"/> SDS <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP <input type="checkbox"/> PRN <input type="checkbox"/> SNG <input type="checkbox"/> SWP <input type="checkbox"/> SPL <input type="checkbox"/> WWP
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ		Residence Address 100-25688	
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____			

②-Bureau (RM)
1-New YorkJWW:mcp
(3)

120 MAY 26 1972

NOT RECORDED
22 APR 6 1972RESEARCH SECTION
INV SEC

NY 100-11342

The following is a brief summary of the most recent subversive activity on the part of the subject together with the source of the information. It is believed this qualifies subject for category IV of the ADEX.

FRANK DONNER, was scheduled to discuss "Law and Order" on 11/13/70 at Center for Marxist Education ("Daily World, 11/10/70).

FRANK DONNER signed letters, dated 11/1/70, of National Lawyers Guild, detailing project to investigate political surveillance, (anonymous source, Detroit Office).

FRANK DONNER spoke on 4/15/70 at Rally at United Nations sponsored by Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and Vietnam Moratorium Committee. He criticized American involvement in Vietnam. (SAS, FBI).

Next report is expected at Bureau 10/15/72.

ADDENDUM: Place in ADEX 3 in view of
his ^{LIT} CPUSA front activities during past three
years. Submit next periodic communication
10/15/72.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : T. J. Smith *TJS*

SUBJECT: NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL
TELEVISION PROGRAM
SURVEILLANCE: WHO'S
WATCHING?"
JANUARY 31, 1972

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
DATE: 2/2/72
1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey
1 - Mr. C. W. Bates
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
1 - Mr. A. W. Gray
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
1 - Mr. J. M. Sizoo

Tolson _____
Felt _____
Rosen _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Cleveland _____
Ponder _____
Bates _____
Waikart _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned program was monitored on 1/31/72, and an analysis follows.

SYNOPSIS:

The National Educational Television (NET) special, "Surveillance: Who's Watching?" is obviously part of continuing campaign to depict FBI as political police organization working to stifle legitimate dissent. Biased program included interviews of former SA Robert N. Wall, a consistent critic of FBI since voluntary resignation 1970; Ralph M. Stein, former Army intelligence agent who quoted from FBI document given him by a source [redacted]

[redacted]; Frank J. Donner, director of American Civil Liberties Union project on political surveillance, who in 1965 admitted Communist Party, USA, association in past; Anne Flitcraft, who rehashed complaints against FBI search of her apartment, Philadelphia, in connection with our investigation of Media Resident Agency burglary; and Joseph Powers, Internal Revenue Service employee in Chicago, who falsely claimed the FBI investigated him for civil rights activities. Letter from Director read declining to be interviewed for program. Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian spoke in defense of FBI and noted need to "jealously guard" investigative and intelligence information collected by the Government. Program also pictured NET camera reporters harassing Chicago Police Department Intelligence Unit. Senator Sam Ervin appeared commenting on need to protect privacy of citizens, but made no reference to FBI.

JMS/CPM:jan
(12)

CPM

100-25688-1

NOT RECORDED

46 FEB 15 1972

3 FEB 10 1972
CONTINUED OVER

61 FEB 25 1972

RECEIVED UNIT

67-613295-

JMS

94-52524-142
ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

ACTION:

A separate memorandum is being prepared to initiate efforts to determine means by which program participant Ralph M. Stein apparently received a copy of the FBI's 4/2/71 "Current Intelligence Analysis."

EM/s R V 7 AS 22A Q/M WBS

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

DETAILS:

National Educational Television (NET) special, "Surveillance: Who's Watching?" was broadcast 8-9:30 p.m., 1/31/72, Channel 26. This program, a repetition with slight variations of earlier anti-FBI television presentations, is obviously part of a continuing campaign to depict the FBI as a political police organization working to stifle legitimate dissent. NET, a network of over 200 educational stations, produced a program in October, 1971, which also presented a distorted and biased picture of the Bureau's operations.

There was no pretense at objectivity in this latest program; the narrator, Richard McCutcheon, announced in the opening segment that the FBI has long been in the field of political surveillance. To substantiate these charges in the segments of the program devoted to the FBI, an interview was presented with former Special Agent Robert N. Wall (1965-1970), who has been a consistent critic of the FBI since he voluntarily resigned.

On the program, Wall charged the FBI with conducting political investigations of black organizations. As an example, he stated that he had conducted a six-month investigation in Washington of a black studies group, determined there was no evidence that the group was violent and revolutionary, and recommended in the report that the case be closed. FBI headquarters, he said, ignored this recommendation and ordered that he be taken off the case and a more stringent investigation be initiated. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7c

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

FBI investigations and dissemination policies were criticized on the program by Ralph M. Stein, a former Army intelligence agent. This individual testified before Senator Ervin's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in early 1971 on the Army's intelligence-gathering practices. Stein, in a discussion of surveillances, quoted from an FBI document which he claimed a source recently furnished him. This document indicated that Frank J. Donner--who also appeared on the program to condemn FBI investigative practices--was director of a project for the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation (ACLUF), which was studying alleged political surveillance. We have identified the document referred to by Stein as the FBI's "Current Intelligence Analysis" (CINAL) of 4/2/71, classified "Confidential," copies of which are disseminated to the Army. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

The CINAL in question noted that the director of the ACLUF project, Frank J. Donner, may possibly be identical with Frank Joris Donner, a lawyer and Connecticut resident, who in 1965 reportedly admitted having been a Communist Party leader for 30 years. On the program, Donner derided the document, denying his identification with it. It is known, however, that he is identical with the individual described

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

in the CINAL. Bureau files show that two confidential Bureau informants reported Donner, at a Socialist Workers Party-sponsored meeting in New York, 1/22/65, claimed to have been affiliated with the Communist Party for 30 years.

The program presented a rehash of the search of Anne Flitcraft's apartment in the Powelton Village area of Philadelphia on 5/16/71 in connection with out investigation of the burglary at the Media Resident Agency. Flitcraft alleged that during the search of her apartment, she was held for an hour and a half. As on previous television appearances, she did not mention that a search warrant had been issued for the FBI search of her apartment, and [redacted]

b6
b7C

In this regard, the producer and narrator of the program, Richard McCutcheon of NET, quoted from a letter, dated 12/22/71, to him from the Director stating that FBI Agents searched Flitcraft's apartment on the basis of a search warrant. McCutcheon also noted that the Director, by this letter, declined to be interviewed for this program. In connection with the Flitcraft interview, the program also dealt with the street fair criticizing the FBI at the Powelton Village area in June, 1971.

In another segment of the program, Joseph Powers, a Federal employee in Chicago, charged that under the pretense of a "character investigation," the FBI had placed him under political surveillance. Supporting Powers' charges was Stewart Roberts, an associate, who stated he had been contacted by the FBI concerning "civil rights" activities by Powers.

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

Roberts stated he was incensed with the alleged nature of the FBI inquiry and refused to cooperate. He wrote a letter to our Chicago Office complaining of the manner in which this interview was conducted.

b6
b7C

Refer

Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian was interviewed on the program. He indicated that local law enforcement has a duty to obtain essential information on planned demonstrations in order to establish a need for possible police presence at the demonstrations. Mardian--in comments that tied in generally with the Stewart Roberts complaint matter mentioned above--stated that in a force the size of the FBI, "you do have instances where one or two or three or maybe ten Agents are overzealous in the conduct of their duties." He noted that unless "the need is great... people should be permitted to freely assemble to demonstrate and to petition our Government without having cameras on them." Mardian closed his remarks by stating that the abuse

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: National Educational Television Program, "Surveillance:
Who's Watching?" January 31, 1972

(of freedoms) is not in the collection of information but in the dissemination in that there is a need to "jealously guard" all investigative and intelligence information collected by the Government.

The program included considerable material concerning the Chicago Police Department Intelligence Unit, the so-called Red Squad. We received information in the fall of 1971 that [redacted] of the program, [redacted] and other NET personnel were in Chicago to obtain information about personnel and operations of that squad. Films shown on the program definitely indicate that alleged members of the intelligence unit were harassed by NET reporters who constantly took photographs and attempted to force such officers into admission of their official capacities.

b6
b7c

On a number of occasions during the program, Senator Sam Ervin made comments concerning the need to protect the privacy of citizens from invasion by Government. He made no reference to the FBI in connection with his comments.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *ESP*

DATE: 10/28/71

FROM : A. W. Gray *AG*

SUBJECT: COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE
"THE FBI INFORMER -- HIS ROLE
IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL
INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM" BY
FRANK J. DONNER

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
(Mr. Jones)
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. A. W. Gray
- 1 - Mr. E. P. Grigalus

Tolson ☒
Felt ☒
Rosen ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Miller, E.S. ☒
Callahan ☒
Casper ☒
Conrad ☒
Dalbey ☒
Cleveland ☒
Ponder ☒
Bates ☒
Tavel ☒
Walters ☒
Soyars ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS:

The above captioned paper by Frank J. Donner is to be presented at the conference of the Committee for Public Justice to be held at Princeton, New Jersey, on October 29-30, 1971. Donner has been an attorney for several Communist Party functionaries in Smith Act trials and he remarked to a source that he has been a Communist Party member for 30 years. He has written other articles critical of the FBI for magazines such as "Playboy" and "The Nation." This 54-page paper is a vicious condemnation of the use of informants by the FBI. He intends to leave the impression that the FBI operates informants in all spheres including legitimate activities and that the use of informants by the FBI is for purposes of political and social control and the repression of freedom. His condemnation consists of half-truths, unsupported assertions and outright lies, including a personal attack upon the Director.

ACTION:

For the Director's information.

EPG:cb *cb*
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER
SEE DETAILS PAGE TWO

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

51 NOV 12 1971

NOT RECORDED
167 NOV 10 1971

NOV 8 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-113909-46

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Committee for Public Justice
"The FBI Informer -- His Role
In the American Political
Intelligence System" By
Frank J. Donner

DETAILS:

The Author:

Frank J. Donner is a New York City attorney who has served as counsel for a number of Communist Party functionaries tried for violations of the Smith Act of 1940. He appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956 and 1959, and invoked Constitutional privilege when asked about his Communist Party affiliation. Donner has been associated with communist-front groups over the years. In 1965 a confidential source advised that Donner remarked he has been a Communist Party member for 30 years. He has written other articles critical of the FBI which appeared in magazines such as "Playboy" and "The Nation." He is the author of "The Un-Americans," a book attacking the FBI's use of informants, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and now has written "The FBI Informer -- His Role in the American Political Intelligence System."

The Paper:

Donner's paper is divided into seven segments, the highlights of which are set out below:

I. This segment which appears to be an introduction alleges that the informer is the keystone of the American political intelligence system and that a network of FBI political informants girdles the entire country. He states that this network costs millions and that it is operated unchecked, permeating every facet of American political and social activity. He identifies the FBI as a "secret political police unit."

II. Segment two alleges that the Bureau uses informants justifying such use under the guise of "national security" where no plausible reason actually exists; that the key significance of the use of informants is political to perpetuate the "red menace myth;" that the country is under permanent

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Committee for Public Justice
"The FBI Informer -- His Role
In the American Political
Intelligence System" By
Frank J. Donner

threat of internal subversion; and that political espionage inevitably concentrates on the left instead of the right. This segment also degenerates into a personal attack upon the Director for his position on use of informants. He also attacks the House Internal Security Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for using exposed FBI informants to fashion a scenario, and thus perpetuates the "red menace."

III. This part alleges that the FBI's use of informers is an instrument of political and social control; a restraint of free expression; that all political parties are under surveillance and that once an investigation is started it is never ended.

IV. Part four alleges that the FBI has no selectivity in its choice of targets and irresponsibly investigates legitimate organizations and activities through use of informants. He rehashes information garnered from the burglary of our Resident Agency in Media, Pennsylvania, twisting facts to suit his own end.

V. This segment alleges that the campus is a high priority target for our informants and that we use any method to develop them including threats, money, draft deferment, etc. He specifically mentions several former informants setting out their identities and amounts paid them by the FBI for their information. It is noted that all these informants he mentions have either surfaced on their own or testified in court actions for the Government.

VI. Donner here quotes scripture that talebearing is hateful and states that throughout history the informer is a universal object of loathing. He also alleges that provocation is an almost inevitable by-product of the informing system, intimating that the FBI advocates that informants involve themselves in acts of violence. He uses an example of

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Committee for Public Justice
"The FBI Informer -- His Role
In the American Political
Intelligence System" By
Frank J. Donner

David R. Sannes, who recently along with others appeared on television making allegations that FBI Agents instructed them to commit acts of violence, arson, bombings, etc., which broadcast recently received considerable publicity. The Director was previously advised of the falsity of these allegations and that Sannes was not an informant for us.

VII. In this concluding segment Donner reverts again to a personal attack on the Director for his use and defense of informants.

EM
JS
gmm

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Tolson _____
Felt _____
Rosen _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Cleveland _____
Ponder _____
Bates _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 10-27-71

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE

In connection with captioned Committee's conference to be held at Princeton, New Jersey, October 29-30, you will recall that previous memoranda indicated that various individuals would submit papers to be given and discussed during the course of the conference.

William Bittman, former Department attorney who has been most cooperative with the Bureau in furnishing material he has received concerning the conference, has now given to us 9 of the papers which will be given. According to the cover letter these are preliminary drafts and it is stated that they hope to have additional papers before or at the conference. The papers we have received have been quickly scanned and it is felt that due to the subject material they should be reviewed by the Divisions indicated below:

The FBI In Organized Crime
by Fred Cook

Special Investigative Division

The FBI Informer
by Frank Donner

Domestic Intelligence Division

The Scope and Basis of FBI Domestic
Intelligence Data Collection
by John Elliff

Domestic Intelligence Division

The FBI and the Bill of Rights
by Tom Emerson

Domestic Intelligence Division
and Crime Records Division

The Dissemination of Derogatory
Data by the FBI
by Aryeh Neier

Identification Division

Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. Felt
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. Callahan

- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Dalbey
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. Walters
- 1 - M. A. Jones

ENCLOSURE

100-25685-

DGH:paa (13)

CONTINUED - OVER

ENCLOSURE

*Memo - Guy to
M. A. Jones 10/29/71
E.P.S.:ch*

M. A. Jones to Bishop Memo
RE: COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE

The FBI Budget
by Walter Pincus

Administrative Division

Unlawful Scrutiny
by C. H. Rolph

Domestic Intelligence Division

An Insider's View of the FBI
by William Turner

Training Division,
Administrative Division, and
Domestic Intelligence Division

(This paper is divided into three parts and each of the above Divisions should review the part applicable to their respective Division.)

Draft J. Edgar Hoover For President
by Robert Sherrill

Crime Records Division

A copy of the pertinent papers as listed above is being sent to each interested Division. Each reviewing Division should submit a separate memorandum concerning each paper reviewed. A copy of this memorandum should be made for the Crime Records Division attention M. A. Jones. It is pointed out that this conference is only two days away and speed is of the essence in this review.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the review of these voluminous papers (over 400 pages) be handled as above.

FBI

Date: 8/17/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (52-94527)
 FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (52-1972) (P)
 SUBJECT: MEDBURG
 OO: Philadelphia

Re: Bureau teletype to Philadelphia and New Haven 8/11/71;
 Director's letter to the Attorney General, 8/13/71,
 no carbon copies Boston.

Enclosed for the Bureau, Boston, Philadelphia,
 and Sacramento are two copies each of two FD 302's relating
 to interviews with U.S. Postal Service personnel at New
 Haven. Also enclosed for Boston is one Xerox copy of
 the following:

1. Xerox copy of Philadelphia airtel to Bureau, 8/11/71.
2. One Xerox copy of Sacramento airtel to Philadelphia, dated 7/23/71.
3. One Xerox copy of a communication purported to be a Bureau memorandum, dated 1/27/71, captioned "RACIAL DISORDERS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT".
4. One Xerox copy of a partial article appearing in the "Washington Post," dated 5/10/71, captioned "FBI INFORMANT'S DOUBLE LIFE," etc.
5. An airmail type envelope, 9-1/2" by 4-1/2", postmarked 7/22/71, 10:00 a.m., at New Haven, Conn., and addressed to Executive Director of International League of the Rights of Man, 650 Capital Mall, Sacramento, Calif., 95814.
6. One Xerox copy of Philadelphia airtel to Bureau dated 8/2/71.
7. Xerox copy of letter from Director to the Attorney General dated 8/13/71.

3-Bureau (RM) (Encls. 4) 2-Sacramento (RM) 52-1516 (Encls. 4)
 2-Boston (RM) (52-6636) (Encls. 11)
 2-Philadelphia (RM) (52-7133 sub T) (Encls. 6)
 3-New Haven (1-100-14085) F.J. DOWNEY

Approved: RAZ:jch

Sent _____ M

CARBON COPY
 NOT RECORDED
 102 AUG 23 1971

59 AUG 26 1971
 Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 52-94527-7466

NH 52-1972

In attempting to determine who might have had access to copies of MEDBURG documents in the Conn. area, New Haven file review reflected the following:

Boston teletype to Director, dated 5/12/71, captioned MEDBURG, reflected that on 5/11/71, a Boston source furnished that office with "Second list of addresses taken from five additional 9" by 12" manila envelopes" collected from a mail box in Cambridge, Mass. Envelope bore return address of "RESIST, Room 4, 763 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, Mass..." and carrying 80¢ postage. Boston believed the envelope possibly contained packets of copies of documents "1-6 or portions thereof" of documents from MEDBURG.

One was addressed to FRANK DONNER, ACLU Police Spying Project, Yale University Law School, New Haven, Conn.

b7D

Boston airtel of 5/12/71 (interoffice) reflected that on 5/12/71, [redacted] furnished copies of following names and addresses of persons who have requested "packets" from RESIST, 763 Mass. Avenue, Cambridge. "Packets" were interpreted by Boston to be packets of copies of copies of documents stolen from Media RA. Among those was: HARRY DONNER, Yale University Law School, New Haven, Conn.

New Haven by nitel, 5/18/71, identified FRANK DONNER as an attorney associated with the ACLU, who is performing research at Yale University Law School. The school has made a room available for him and a secretary. He collates material in conjunction with a project he is pursuing. DONNER is an attorney with an office in New York City and also General Counsel for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UEMWA), in New York City.

A letter issued 11/1/70, on stationery of the National Lawyer's Guild and addressed "Dear Guild Member" was signed by FRANK J. DONNER and DORIS BRIN WALKER. It

NH 52-1972

reflected that DONNER, a NAG member, was engaged in a project funded by a foundation to investigate political surveillances under sponsorship of the ACLU. The location of the project office was Room 235, Yale Law School, New Haven.

DONNER has Bufile 100-25688, CO: NY, NY file 100-11342, NH file 100-14085.

Upon receipt of Xerox copy of the envelope received by the Sacramento Office, U.S. Postal Service officials at New Haven were contacted as reflected in the enclosed FD 302's. The only pertinent information obtained was that the letter was mailed in New Haven and postmarked on 7/10/71.

To date, New Haven has had no indication that documents relating to MEDBURG were sent from the Conn. area. We were aware of the "packet" apparently sent to DONNER by "RESIST" at Cambridge, Mass. But, New Haven has not received any information that DONNER has further disseminated any of the material he received.

Boston is requested to advise if that have any information that would reflect what documents RESIST possessed and later sent out. Specifically, is or was RESIST in possession of the documents in question here. If so, this could possibly indicate whether DONNER had such a copy in his possession.

New Haven will attempt to initiate an extremely discreet inquiry at Yale Law School relative to DONNER's activities and the identities of his associates there. Due to the nature of DONNER's background, and position at Yale Law School, this inquiry will be most discreet to avoid embarrassment to the Bureau.

SI-117

May 17, 1974

1 - Mr. Mintz

REC-45

100-25688-161

Mr. Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

Dear Mr. Donner:

Your letter of April 25th, addressed to
[redacted] Esq., has been referred to this Bureau
and was received on May 1st.

b6
b7C

In response to your request, based on the information furnished, a search of our records failed to locate the document you desire.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

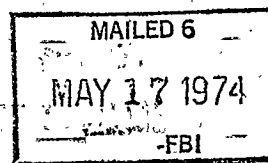
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REPLIES)

NOTE: Correspondent is the subject of a Security Matter investigation. He has a long history of legal activities on behalf of the Communist Party and Communist Party front organizations. In 1971 he was engaged in a project to investigate political surveillances under the sponsorship of the American Civil Liberties Union. He has been extremely critical of the FBI (100-25688).

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js:bjy (7)



JUN 6 1974

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

For J. Edgar, 4706

On desk, C/May 5/22/75
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-115530-161

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Clarence M. Kelley
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: May 1, 1974

FROM :
Staff Assistant to the
Deputy Attorney General

b6
b7c

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST - Frank J. Donner

Enclosed herewith is a request for access to a memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to Frank Burke dated February 21, 1920.

Pursuant to 28 CFR § 16.5 which took effect on March 1, 1973, the head of the responsible division shall, within 10 working days, either comply with or deny a request for records unless additional time is required.

In cases where additional time is required the requester should be notified of the reasons for the time extension, which should not exceed 10 additional working days. An extension of time in excess of 10 additional working days requires the approval of the Deputy Attorney General.

If the request is denied, the requester should be informed that the denial may be appealed within 30 days to the Attorney General, and that judicial review will be thereafter available.

Copies of all acknowledgements and responses to the requester should be forwarded to the office of the Deputy Attorney General.

EX-117
37 MAY 1 1974
#18

SI-117

REC-45

100-25688-161

28
MAY 1 1974

LEGAL COUNSEL

Clarence M. Kelley
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

May 1, 1974

Staff Assistant to the
Deputy Attorney General

b6
b7C

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST - Frank J. Donner

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If the request is denied, the requester should be informed that the denial may be appealed within 30 days to the Attorney General, and that judicial review will be thereafter available.

Copies of all acknowledgements and responses to the requester should be forwarded to the office of the Deputy Attorney General.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION, INC.

(A charitable and educational foundation affiliated with, but separate from, The American Civil Liberties Union, Inc., a social welfare organization.)

Project on Political Surveillance

ROOM 235, YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520 (203) 432-4307

Frank J. Donner
Project Director

Kathe Fox
Project Administrator

Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

April 25, 1974

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[Redacted] Esq.
Office of Legal Counsel
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

In connection with a book I'm doing on Political Surveillance
I have need of a document described in the literature as:

J. Edgar Hoover to Frank Burke, Memorandum of Feb. 21,
1920, DJ File 186701-14 between 82 and 83. *nohOC*

I have been advised to make the necessary arrangements through
your office for access to the document. Could you please in-
form me how this should be done.

Respectfully,

Frank J. Donner

Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk
Conn. 06854

WJB/ero

Legal [Signature]

ENCLOSURE

100-25688-161

May 2, 1974

REC-102

100-25688-162

Frank J. Donner, Esq.
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

Dear Mr. Donner:

In response to your letter of April 24th, the 1975 Appropriations Testimony is not being published for general distribution. Therefore, we are unable to comply with your request.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

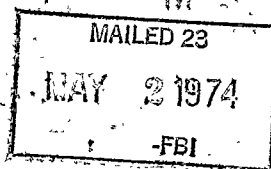
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

NOTE: Correspondent is the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation. He has a long history of legal activities on behalf of the Communist Party and Communist Party front organizations. In 1971 he was engaged in a project to investigate political surveillances under the sponsorship of the American Civil Liberties Union. He has been extremely critical of the FBI. (Bufile 100-25688).

cam:cmc (3)

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Director Sec'y _____



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(A charitable and educational foundation affiliated with, but separate from, The American Civil Liberties Union, Inc., a social welfare organization.)

Project on Political Surveillance

ROOM 235, YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520 (203) 432-4307

Frank J. Donner
Project Director

Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director

Kathe Fox
Project Administrator

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Marvin M. Karparkin
Executive Vice President
Aryeh Neier

April 24, 1974

Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigations
Public Relations
Washington, D.C. 20535

Gentlemen,

Would you be good enough to send me the testimony presented this year by the Bureau before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on its 1974-1975 fiscal year budget?

Respectfully,

Frank J. Donner

Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Ct.
06854

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

FJD/ero

REC-102

100-25688-162

MAY 29 1974

CORRESPONDENCE

ack
5-2-74 30
cam/cmc

September 16, 1974

REC-2

AK 100-25688-163

EX-113

Mr. Frank J. Donner, Esq.
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

Dear Mr. Donner:

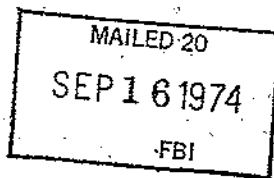
I have received your letter of September 8,
1974.

Pursuant to your request, I am enclosing
a copy of my speech "Building Bridges of Understanding,"
which was delivered before the Federal Bar Association,
Washington, D. C., on September 6, 1974.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director



Enclosure

AK

NOTE: Correspondent makes frequent requests for material.
Donner is the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation.
On numerous occasions he has participated in legal activities
on behalf of the Communist Party and Communist front organizations.
Donner is a persistent critic of the Bureau and on numerous
occasions has done research for the ACLU which was highly
critical of the FBI. In the 6/1/74 edition of "Nation,"
Donner wrote a critical article concerning Cointelpro which
contained many references taken out of context from material
released under the Freedom of Information Act.

MAIL ROOM ☐

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LSH

mef

FRANK J. DONNER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
11 EAST 51 STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
—
PLAZA 3-1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

September 8, 1974

Clarence M. Kelley, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigations
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Director Kelley,

According to today's New York Times, you made a speech
before the Federal Bar Association dealing with wire-
tapping and related matters.

If the speech or a press release summarizing it is
available, I would like very much to have it.

Sincerely,

Frank J. Donner

Frank J. Donner
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk
Conn. 06854

ack: let 9/16/74
JRH:jAM

mm

FJD/ero

REC-2

100-25688-163

EX-112

6 SEP 17 1974

RESEARCH SECTION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - Mr. J.J. McDermott

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

DATE: 6/18/74

FROM : W. R. Wannall *WRW JHTC*

1 - Mr. T.J. Smith

1 - Mr. A.B. Fulton

SUBJECT: REMARKS RE COINTELPROS IN
"HOOVER'S LEGACY" BY
FRANK J. DONNER
"THE NATION," 6/1/74

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Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
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Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

By memorandum 6/12/74 we furnished an analysis of information appearing in captioned edition of "The Nation," in compliance with the Director's request. The Director has noted that he is interested in having a listing of material released as a result of the Cointelpro litigation.

The material requested is attached. It is noted that those areas bracketed or underlined in red in the material were deleted from the copies furnished to newsman [redacted] as a result of the outcome of this litigation with regard to Cointelpro.

ACTION:

The foregoing is in response to the Director's inquiry.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Encs.

WRW:mah
(5)

100-25688-

NOT RECORDED

185 JUN 27 1974

5 JUN 24 1974

ENCLOSURE

5 JUL 09 1974 290

ORIGINAL FILES IN

61-901-253

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *WRW*

FROM : A. B. Fulton *AF*

SUBJECT: REMARKS RE COINTELPROS IN
"HOOVER'S LEGACY" BY
FRANK J. DONNER
"THE NATION," 6/1/74

1 - Mr. J. J. McDermott
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

DATE: 6/12/74

1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

Assoc. Dir. _____
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Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
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Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

*Dashed for listing
of material released
as result of CoinTELpro
litigation - where
is it?*

Attached are the 6/1/74 edition of "The Nation" with note received by ADIC John F. Malone, and 11 Bureau documents relating to various counterintelligence programs (cointelpros) which were furnished to Washington, D. C., newsman [redacted] pursuant to his Freedom of Information Act request and which have been requested by the Director. (It is noted those areas bracketed or underlined in red were deleted from the copies [redacted] received.)

b6
b7c

** Detached for attachment
to memo 6/18 Wannall
to Miller WRW*

SYNOPSIS:

ADIC, New York, forwarded advance copy of June, 1974, edition "The Nation" containing captioned article. Copy obtained from contact of ADIC who suggested Bureau consider rebuttal of article for publication in "The Nation."

This memo analyzes comments in article re cointelpros with a view to making assessment as to whether Bureau should attempt rebuttal.

Information re cointelpros contained Pages 690-694. Author's sole source of information consists of cointelpro documents previously released to Washington, D. C., newsman [redacted] in connection his Freedom of Information Act request. Author first quotes passages from Bureau documents interpreting the passages and arriving at certain conclusions.

Quotes accurate but not always complete. Some statements taken out of context and in connection SWP document certain inculpatory-type language not quoted.

Generally, author has misinterpreted nature of cointelpros. For instance, he implies all informant development and dissemination of information of FBI to local authorities constituted cointelpro activity.

Enclosures
EJP:aso (5)

JUN 27 1974

CONTINUED - OVER

70 JUL 3 1974

FILE

61-901-254
Original Filed In

*Marx's letter see to Miller (Encs)
6/13/74 WRW/pmh*

100-25699-

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Remarks Re Cointelpros in
"Hoover's Legacy" by Frank J. Donner
"The Nation," 6/1/74

Further, he implies collusion, particularly in black extremist field, between Federal and local authorities resulting in false arrest campaign. This totally inaccurate.

In second section of cointelpro remarks author discusses number of cases primarily involving Black Panthers in which Bureau furnished informant information to locals and prosecutions resulted. He identifies this activity as cointelpro activity. This is totally inaccurate.

Intelligence Division believes no attempt at rebuttal should be made. To attempt to refute author's misstatements re cointelpro could only lead to additional unfounded allegations and misstatements. Readership of "The Nation" made up of those who adhere to beliefs which made up ideological theme of this article. Therefore, questionable rebuttal could be effective.

RECOMMENDATION:

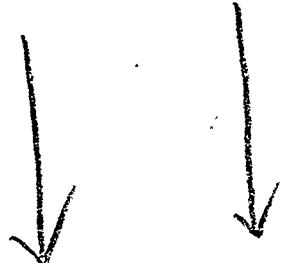
That we not attempt a rebuttal of the captioned article for inclusion in "The Nation."

EJP

[Handwritten signature]
BM

wfu

TJS



DETAILS - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Remarks Re Cointelpros in
"Hoover's Legacy" by Frank J. Donner
"The Nation," 6/1/74

DETAILS:

The purpose of this memorandum is to analyze the comments regarding cointelpros made in captioned article with a view to making an assessment as to whether the Bureau should attempt a rebuttal of the article for publication in "The Nation." b6 b7C

By personal note to ADIC John F. Malone, 5/24/74, [] of "The Nation" provided an advance copy of the 6/1/74 issue containing captioned article. [] expressed the belief that the Bureau would probably have some vigorous dissent to the article. He suggested that perhaps the Bureau should dissent and assured that the dissent would be published in "The Nation."

The portion of the article relating to the cointelpros, Pages 690-694, is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a statement of various segments of the documents which implemented the cointelpros with interpretive and editorializing statements by the author. The second section purports to illustrate specific activities we engaged in during the execution of the cointelpros.

From a careful review of this article, it is apparent the only information the author had regarding the cointelpros was that made available to Washington, D. C., newsman [] pursuant to his Freedom of Information Act request.

While the portions of the documents quoted are quoted accurately, there is evidence of quoting out of context or failing to include exculpatory statements contained in the same document, as well as making inaccurate conclusions based on the documents. For example, the author states the opening line from the memo instituting the cointelpro directed against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP): "The SWP has over the past several years been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office...." He then concludes that "it is not a commitment to violence that triggers the selection of a surveillance or provocation target, but ideology. Here the SWP is pinpointed because it has embraced the electoral process."

This is an unfair conclusion. The initiating document sets forth as one of the purposes of the program, alerting the public to the fact the SWP follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Remarks Re Cointelpros in
"Hoover's Legacy" by Frank J. Donner
"The Nation," 6/1/74

Trotsky. This is not quoted in the article. Yet it is the revolutionary character of the SWP which is the basis for our investigation of it and the reason it was targeted for cointelpro activity.

On Page 691, Donner quotes portions of a 12/24/70 document which was part of Counterintelligence and Special Operations. Portions of this document were excised before being made public. Donner concludes this document discussed proposed disruption against a leader of an organization characterized as a black nationalist group. He concludes this is the Black Panthers. In reality, the document never characterized the organization as a black nationalist group. As a matter of fact, the group referred to was the Revolutionary Union, which is pro-Chicom.

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On Page 692, Donner quotes from the 3/4/68 document which expanded the cointelpro against black nationalists. He sets forth a passage, excised in the [] document, which relates to an activist group on whom we disseminated information to local police. During the Summer of 1967, the local police department placed the leaders under close scrutiny and then arrested them on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. They thus were forced to spend the summer in jail and no violence traceable to them occurred. Donner theorized the group involved was SNCC. This is incorrect; it was the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The author indicates this activity was part of the cointelpro. It was not. The activity occurred prior to the implementation of the cointelpro. It was an example of a field office fulfilling its dissemination responsibilities with the results being disruptive to an activist group. There is no indication the arrests were on spurious charges as the article implies nor was there any collusion between the Federal and local governments to engage in any arrest campaigns.

Donner consistently indicates collusion of this sort. On Page 693, he states the "most important result of the cointelpros was the arrest campaign ... beginning in the summer of 1967." False arrests or arrests on flimsy cause were never a part of the cointelpros.

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Remarks Re Cointelpros in
"Hoover's Legacy" by Frank J. Donner
"The Nation," 6/1/74

We would, of course, disseminate information of interest to local authorities. This is our obligation. If the information resulted in arrests it was at the doing of the locals. The information we furnished was accurate to the best of our knowledge and was furnished in good faith in fulfillment of our law enforcement responsibilities. Donner clearly implies he does not believe this was the case.

On Page 692, Donner indicates a misunderstanding of the Director's 12/7/73 statement. He interprets it as a calling for legislation to sanction cointelpros. This was never intended. The Director stated the programs were terminated and would not be reactivated. He indicated we would study our jurisdiction to determine if additional legislation was necessary to deal with crisis-type situations such as those which gave rise to the cointelpros. It was not a calling to legislate cointelpros.

Throughout this section Donner relates all our activities in the development and utilization of informants as cointelpro activity. This is wholly inaccurate.

On Pages 693-694, Donner discusses a number of cases primarily in the black extremist field involving the Black Panthers in which we furnished informant-type information to local authorities resulting in prosecutions. All these incidents involved our carrying out our dissemination responsibilities by advising local authorities of information of interest to them. The information evolved from lawful investigative activity. Donner calls it cointelpro activity and again alludes to Federal-local collusion.

There are clear indications Donner was groping for illustrations of what activity the Bureau was engaged in during the cointelpros. Armed merely with the [] memoranda, he guessed, and did so incorrectly.

b6
b7C

Public Rebuttal of the Article

Throughout his article, Donner has used material gleaned from various sources. Documents and theory relating to FBI jurisdiction in the domestic security field appear to have come from the Committee for Public Justice, particularly from studies contributed by []

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Remarks Re Cointelpros in
"Hoover's Legacy" by Frank J. Donner
"The Nation," 6/1/74

Donner has placed his own interpretation on all of his source material and it is questionable that we could materially affect the average "The Nation" reader's opinion by trying to refute Donner's arguments.

b6
b7C

Donner has used material released publicly to [] concerning the cointelpro. As noted herein, Donner again speculated and misinterpreted material he obtained. To try to refute Donner's misstatements relating to "dirty tricks" or cointelpro could only lead to additional unfounded allegations and outright misstatements of fact. We should not get into any sort of public debate regarding cointelpro activity, and such would be necessary if we were to offer rebuttal to Donner's article.

As stated above, the readership of "The Nation" is surely made up largely of those who adhere to the basic philosophies and beliefs which make up the ideological theme of that magazine. It is, therefore, questionable that any rebuttal could effectively counteract impressions created by Donner's article. On the other hand, by offering rebuttal we would necessarily have to open doors to re-rebuttal by Donner and his clique. Intelligence Division believes there is more to lose than to gain by an attempted rebuttal.

Handwritten signatures and initials:
A large signature (possibly "C. M.")
Initials "EM" below it
Initials "WRL" to the right

REC-46

100-25688-164

October 22, 1976

Frank J. Donner, Esq.
30 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Dear Mr. Donner:

In response to your letter of October 8th, you may wish to obtain a copy of "Intelligence Activities Senate Resolution 21, Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities of the United States Senate, Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session, Volume 6, Federal Bureau of Investigation, November 18, 19, December 2, 3, 9, 10, and 11, 1975," from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Information available to me indicates this volume costs \$7.40 and was prepared for the Committee's use. It sets forth the contents of an October 28, 1975, document entitled "An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Intelligence Investigations: Authority, Official Attitudes, and Activities in Historic Perspective."

With regard to the other three documents you seek, please feel free to submit an explicit Freedom of Information Act request which will be processed in accordance with established procedures.

Sincerely yours,

G. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Mr. Leavitt - Enclosure
Attention: Mr. Philips

1 - Mr. Decker - Enclosure

Attention: Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts Section

NOTE: Bufiles reflect a pending FOIA request submitted by Donner. He is described as persistently critical of the FBI and as having performed legal services for communist-affiliated organizations. This response has been coordinated with the Records Management Division and the Intelligence Division which opines that the remaining three documents should not be considered for release in the absence of a specific FOIA request. Address is per prior correspondence.

DJC:lfr (5)

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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

Project on Political Surveillance

Frank J. Donner, Director
30 Dock Road, S. Norwalk, Ct. 06854
Phone: (203) 838-8714

October 8, 1976

Clarence M. Kelley, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Director Kelley,

In the course of my current research on the Bureau's domestic security functions, I have encountered a number of memoranda which have been made available to congressional committees. The most important of these are:

- 1.) a memorandum, dated July 31, 1972, dealing with the scope of Bureau authority, jurisdiction and responsibility in domestic intelligence investigations.
- 2.) an Intelligence Division memo, dated October 28, 1975, headed An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Investigations.

Two other documents are frequently referred to in committee reports:

- 1.) a memo from J. Edgar Hoover to the files dated August 24, 1936.
- 2.) another memo from J. Edgar Hoover to the files dated August 25, 1936

EX 104

EC-46 100-25688- 164

In view of the fact that these documents have been released, it would seem that there can be no objection to making them available for my study. I would very much like to have access to them without the nuisance of an FOI procedure. Would you please have them made available to me.

Sincerely,

Frank J. Donner

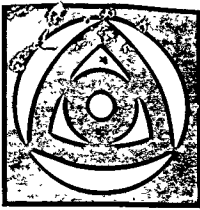
3 OCT 16 1976

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ACK
10/22/76
DJC/LRL

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EJW/68+



X Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-5380

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 08-10-2009 BY UC 60322 LP/STP/SZ

July 2, 1979

Mr. Homer A. Boynton
Inspector in Charge
Public Affairs Office
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th Street & Penn. Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20535

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Dear Mr. Boynton:

FRANK JARVIS DONNER

This letter concerns a request for some reference information. I spoke with [redacted] on the phone earlier today and outlined this material for him. He wanted a written request for the information I need, and therefore I am writing this letter.

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I am doing research for Frank Donner, for a book of his dealing with intelligence agencies. Several pieces of information are missing from Mr. Donner's references. These are needed to complete an appendix otherwise ready for publication.

Following are the articles or speeches, all made by J. Edgar Hoover, as well as what information is missing.

J.E. Hoover's speeches, articles:

- "Communist Illusion & Democratic Reality"
Article Dec. 1959
? Publication, date, place.

DE-56

- Cancer of Communism
1961
? speech or article, place, date

- "Reds Try to Convert Pulpit to Own use"
Christianity Today, Jan. 1961
? Date of publication

- "Christianity: An Anti-Red Armour"
January 1961
? Date of publication

- 2 Speeches 1950
1. Before Jewish War Vets July 26, 1950
2. Boys Club of America May 18, 1950
? Title of speeches, place where they were made.

22 JUL 16 1979

ack
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RWB/TTD:52/4/2577
59 AUG 27 1979

- Articles
'65 "America's Ideals: Its Mark of Greatness"
(Union Central Advocate)
? Date, citation
- 2 speeches
Before Jewish War Vets, Nov. 9, 1963
? Title, place speech was made.
- Speech
"SDS: A Growing Danger"
Before Chamber of Commerce
? Date, (day and year), place made
- Speech(?)
Michigan State Bar Association
June 8, 1967
"Faith, Freedom, & Law"
? place
- 1 speech
"Parole"
October 22, 1965
? who sponsored, where was it
- article
1968, "Careers in Crime"
? where, what publication, full date.

Thank you very much for your help.

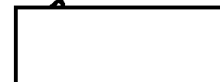


Center for National
Security Studies

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*P.S. Please call me later this week (on Thursday?)
as to the status of this request. Time is very
important, as I need this information by Friday morning.
I would be happy to pick it up myself if needed.*

Thanks again -



July 12, 1979

Ms. [redacted]
Center for National
Security Studies
122 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Dear Ms. [redacted]

By letter dated July 2nd you requested research assistance in connection with a book dealing with the intelligence community being written by Mr. Frank Donner. Specifically, you were interested in information relating to a number of the speeches and articles of former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The results of our research efforts regarding these speeches and articles were furnished to you telephonically by SA [redacted] on July 5th. I understand that we were able to satisfy all aspects of your request with the exception of a question regarding a speech you believed to have been given by Mr. Hoover before the Jewish War Veterans on November 9, 1963, a matter concerning which we were unable to locate any record.

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I trust that we have been of assistance to you in this matter.

Sincerely yours, ^{DE-56}

Homer A. Boynton, Jr.
Inspector in Charge
Public Affairs Office

22 JUL 16 1979

1 - Mr. Tykal

1 - Records Management Division, (FOIPA Branch)
(Attn: Mr. Grimsley)

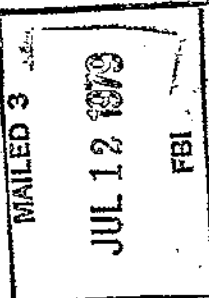
NOTE: Review of Bufiles reflects Frank Jarvis Donner is a lawyer and long time member of the CPUSA. The Bureau previously responded to one FOIPA request made by Donner. The following information was provided to [redacted] by SA [redacted] on 7/5/79:

"Communist Illusion & Democratic Reality" was an article by J. E. Hoover, prepared for the National Strategy Seminar held in Washington, D. C. in July of 1959;

"The Communist Menace: Red Goals and Christian Ideals," published in Christianity Today on October 10, 1960, referred to the "cancer of communism";

RMB/TTO:sak/acm (6)

(NOTE CONTINUED-OVER)



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AUG 13 1979
PMS
RMB/TTO:sak/acm (6)

Miss [REDACTED]

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The Congressional Record of January 10, 1961, referred to an article entitled "Reds Try to Convert Pulpit to Own Use." The original title of the article was "Communist Propaganda and the Christian Pulpit," and it appeared in Christianity Today on October 24, 1960;

An article entitled "The Communist Menace: Red Goals and Christian Ideals," published in Christianity Today on October 10, 1960, was the actual title of an article referred to as "Christianity: An Anti-Red Armour," in the January 9, 1961, edition of The Congressional Record;

There is no record of a speech given before the Jewish War Vets on July 26, 1950. However, a copy of a Hoover statement made on July 26, 1950 was sent to Fred Robbins of the Jewish War Vets;

J. Edgar Hoover made an address at the Annual Banquet of the Boy's Clubs of America, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 18, 1950;

"America's Ideals: Its Mark of Greatness" was published in The Union Central Advocate, a pamphlet of The Union Central Life Insurance Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, in the 1965 Edition;

There is no record in Bureau files of a speech given before the Jewish War Veterans in 1963 or 1964;

"Faith, Freedom and Law" was the title of the remarks given by J. E. Hoover before the Regional Conference on Crime Prevention of the Michigan State Bar at Rochester, Michigan on June 8, 1967;

There is no record of a speech entitled "Parole," nor is there any record of a speech given on October 22, 1965. However, Mr. Hoover did refer to parole and probation in his speech, "The Faith of Free Men," given before The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemason on October 19, 1965;

"Careers in Crime" was an editorial published in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri, on August 27, 1968;

"Extremism and Businessmen" was the title of a speech given by William Sullivan before the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 57th Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C. on April 27, 1969. In this speech, Mr. Sullivan made reference to the "SDS." (Students for a Democratic Society).

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : D. L. Divan

DATE: 8/2/79

FROM

SUBJECT: REQUEST BY [REDACTED] FOR
DATA RELATING TO SPEECHES
AND ARTICLES BY FORMER
DIRECTOR HOOVER

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Serv. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
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Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

FRANK JARVIS DONNER

PURPOSE: To advise of the request for additional data by [REDACTED] of the Center for National Security Studies, and to outline the data made available to her telephonically by me (SA [REDACTED]) on this date.

SYNOPSIS: By letter of July 11, 1979, [REDACTED] who is doing research in connection with a book being written by Frank Donner on the intelligence communities, again requested information specifically relating to speeches and articles of former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Bufiles reflect that Frank Jarvis Donner is a lawyer and long time member of the CPUSA. The Bureau previously responded to one FOIPA request made by Donner. Information needed in connection with Donner's book previously was provided to [REDACTED] by telephone on 7/5/79, and a letter confirming this assistance, with a note setting forth the data made available to her, was sent to correspondent on 7/12/79.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

APPROVED: _____
Director _____
Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
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Crim. Inv. _____
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DETAILS: By telephone call 7/25/79, the following information was made available to Ms. [REDACTED] in response to questions set forth in her letter of July 11th (attached).

Enclosure - detached & handled separately
1 - Mr. Boynton - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Tykal - Enclosure
LIR:sak (6)

EX-137

100-25688-167

(CONTINUED - OVER)

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PUBLIC AFFS. OFF.



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FBI/DOJ

[redacted] to Divan Memo.
RE: REQUEST BY [redacted] FOR
DATA RELATING TO SPEECHES
AND ARTICLES BY FORMER
DIRECTOR HOOVER

1. A search of our records reveals only one interview by Director Hoover with Bert Andrews. The interview was published in the New York Herald Tribune in November, 1947, but no copy of the interview was located. A document dated November 1, 1947, indicated that such an interview was carried in the Herald Tribune on the prior day. Ms. [redacted] therefore, was advised that November 16, 1947, is probably the pertinent date.

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2. We found no record of an article or statement by Mr. Hoover, dated January 26, 1968, under the title "Confidence in American Youth." Ms. [redacted] was advised of the possibility that this may be an excerpt reprinted from an earlier article or speech by Mr. Hoover. She was told we could not identify the data under the title she supplied.

3. Ms. [redacted] was advised that a question and answer type interview with former Director Hoover was entered into the Congressional Record of Tuesday, June 25, 1968, on Page E 5824, by a Congressman (Nichols) from Alabama, who said it had appeared in the Sunday, June 23, issue of the Birmingham News. He indicated the interview, which was carried under the title: "Hoover Hits Civil Disobedience: Contempt for Law at Heart of Violence--FBI Director" originally appeared in the Pontiac, Michigan, Press.

While our records do not reflect the exact date of publication in the Pontiac Press, at whose behest Director Hoover gave the interview, it is believed this interview was released to many papers simultaneously.

(CONTINUED - OVER)

[redacted] to Divan Memo.
RE: REQUEST BY [redacted] FOR
DATA RELATING TO SPEECHES
AND ARTICLES BY FORMER
DIRECTOR HOOVER

4. Ms. [redacted] was told that "Operation Alert: Campaign Against Communism" was not written by Director Hoover, but was an article that appeared in The Washington Daily News on September 15, 1961. A Senator from South Carolina, entered the Wilson feature in the Congressional Record of September 19, 1961, Pages 18983 and 18984.

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5. Ms. [redacted] noted that a guest editorial prepared by former Director Hoover and titled "FBI Chief Sees No Change in Reds," was carried in the Times Democrat in 1963. She was advised that our records indicate that on Monday, July 20, 1964, a Senator from South Carolina inserted into the Congressional Record a guest editorial which Mr. Hoover had written for Labor Columnist Victor Riesel. This column was printed in the Times and Democrat of Orangeburg, South Carolina, on July 12, 1964. Ms. [redacted] was advised that this date of July 12, 1964, was probably the date she is seeking, inasmuch as our records reflect no such article in 1963.

Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-5380

OUTSIDE SOURCE

July 11, 1979

Mr. Homer A. Boynton
Inspector in Charge
Public Affairs Office
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th St. & Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Boynton,

I am writing again in regard to some information needed to complete the references of an appendix in a forthcoming book by Frank Donner. I greatly appreciated the help of [redacted] in getting the missing pieces of information. Hopefully, these last references will be my last imposition on your staff's valuable time.

Once again, as explained in my last letter (dated July 2, 1979), these speeches and articles are all in some way related to J. Edgar Hoover. Following is the list of all the information I have, as well as the information that is missing which I need. Thank you again for the help. I will greatly appreciate your efforts to expedite this, since publication of the book is being held up until I can find full references.

-2 Interviews by Burt Andrews
NY Herald Tribune, November 1947
I need the day (or days) these appeared.

- An interview entitled "Confidence in American Youth", on Jan. 26, 1968
I need to know where this appeared.

- A story (article) called: Contempt for Law at the Heart of Violence
Appeared in the ~~BB~~ntiac Michigan Press in June of 1968
I need the day it was in the press.

- An article called Operation Alert: Campaign Against Communism
All I know is that it appeared in 1961

- A guest editorial in the Times Democrat in 1963
The title was "FBI Chief Sees No Change in Reds"
There was a Congressional Record reference on July 11, 1963 (p.16345)
I need the day it was in the Times Democrat.

Please call me at the number above if there are any questions about this, or if it is impossible for me to get these references. Thanks again.

60 SEP 27 1979